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ABSTRACT

Among 8 French and 54 English papers in this report are the following: "Marks on Paper" (Andruske); "A Multifaceted Approach to Program Evaluation" (Barabash-Pope et al.); "Marine Incidents and their Prevention through Education" (Boshier); "Exploring Needs of Adult Students in Postsecondary Institutions" (Bradley, Cleveland-Innes); "Emancipation through Acquisition of Basic Skills" (Briton et al.); "RoboEd: Re-Imaging Adult Education (AE)" (Briton, Plumb); "On Working without a Net" (Brookfield); "Study in Change" (Butschler); "Collaborative Planning as Community Learning and Empowerment" (Carriere); "Dutch Andragogy Goes to the Art Museum" (Van Gent); "Education for Social Transformation" (Dykstra); "Stress in the Farm Family" (Gordon, Pain); "Peace, Political Alternatives, and Social Action" (Dyson et al.); "Dreaming Reality" (Harris); "Demographics of Adult Learners in Urban Night School Centers" (Harwood et al.); "Entrepreneurial Ways of Learning for Success" (Hian); "Starting with Evaluation" (Holmes et al.); "Meaning and Social Integration among Adult Distance Education Students" (Hotchkis); "Toward Relevant AE with First Nations People" (Inkster, Sanderson); "Nurse Education and Women's Health Movements" (Jefferson-Lenskyj); "Workplace Learning" (Kops); "Adult Learners in Legal Education" (MacFarlane); "A Comparative Study of Continuing Competence among Male Members of Selected Professions" (Matthias); "State Sponsored Adult Literacy Programs in Malta" (Mayo); "Development of Urban Agriculture through Unethical Agricultural Extension Services" (Mlozi); "Developing a Conceptual Framework to Analyze Application of Learning from Continuing Professional Education" (Ottoson); "Towards Liberatory AE" (Ritchie et al.); "Transformative Learning in Context of Social Action" (Scott); "Early AE Associations in Canada" (Selman); "Reframing Program Planners' Practice" (Sloane-Seale); "Criteria for Resource Allocation in AE" (Sork); "Beyond Workplace Learning" (Spencer et al.); "Issues in Adult Literacy" (Taylor); "AE and the Law" (Thomas et al.); "Exploring the Boundaries of AE" (Thomson); "Giving through Grandparenting" (Whiteley); "AE in the Marketplace" (Keddie); "Literacy and Return-to-Learning Programs for Women" (Lesirge, Mace); and "Privatisation of Public Service" (Miller). (YLB)

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Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education

Les Actes du 11e Congrès Annuel

L'association canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes

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As the third world will also have to contend with the third wave, the importance of adult education takes on global proportions. The cover design attempts to reaffirm equal opportunity of education amongst adults around the globe.

La couverture tente de supporter la vision que, dans le contexte où le tiers monde devra faire face aux défis de la troisième vague, l'accès à l'éducation par les adultes prend une importance mondiale.

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CASAE/ACEEA

Mot de la présidente

Le congrès annuel de notre association constitue un moment important pour les chercheurs canadiens en éducation des adultes. Ce 11e congrès ne fait pas exception puisqu'il témoigne encore une fois de notre volonté de contribuer à l'élaboration d'un savoir scientifique dont dépend la vie et la survie de notre domaine de pratique professionnelle.

Cette année, trois associations - AERC (Etats-Unis), SCRUTEA (Royaume-Uni) et CASAE/ ACEEA (Canada) se donnent rendez-vous à l'Université de Saskatoon pour une réflexion conjointe sur des réalités qui nous sont communes. Nous ne pouvons que souhaiter que cette réflexion soit une occasion d'ouvrir des voies nouvelles et fructueuses pour la recherche sur l'éducation des adultes.

Un merci tout spécial au comité organisateur du Congrès dont le président est le Dr Reg. Wickett, ainsi qu'à tous ceux et celles qui, de près ou de loin, font de cet événement annuel un vif succès. J'espère que le 11e Congrès sera stimulant tant pour la recherche en éducation des adultes ainsi que pour l'étude des phénomènes caractéristiques de son évolution.

La présidente,
Nicole A. Tremblay, Ph.D.

From the President

Our Association's Annual Conference is an important event for all Canadian researchers in Adult Education. This 11th Conference is no exception, as it shows once again our will to contribute to the scientific knowledge in our field of professional practice.

This year, three associations, AERC(USA), SCRUTEA (UK) and CASAE/ACEEA (Canada) will meet at the University of Saskatoon to reflect on our common realities. I wholeheartedly wish that this meeting be an opportunity to open new channels for research in Adult Education.

Much special thanks for the efforts of the organizing committee, its president Dr. Reg Wickett and all those involved in making this annual meeting a true success.

I hope that the 11th Conference will be stimulating for research in education as well as the study of the phenomena underlying its evolution.

Nicole A. Tremblay, Ph.D.
President

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF ADULT EDUCATION
L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'ETUDE DE L'EDUCATION DES ADULTES

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Welcome to the CASAE/ACEEA Conference for 1992. This eleventh annual event is based upon the campus of the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. I am pleased that you have chosen to come from all parts of Canada and other countries to join us here in May.

A special welcome is extended to our overseas visitors from the British organization with a membership similar to our own, the Standing Committee for University Teaching and Research in the Education of Adults (SCUTREA). The other international visitors are also most welcome to share with us in this event.

There are many people who have worked to make this event possible. I personally wish to thank those persons who, in both the preparation for and the conduct of the event, have performed many different tasks. They all deserve recognition by name, but space is limited. I would feel remiss if I did not note the work of John MacDonald throughout the past several months.

May your conference experience be most enjoyable and successful!

Reg. Wickett
Chair, Local Conference
Working Group

CASAE - ACEEA / SCUTREA

Special Supplementary Edition

A special edition to the 1992 Proceedings on " Adult Education in the 1980's and Future Prospects " will enlarge on the critical themes of the two Plenary Sessions.

The supplementary edition will include essays by Michael Collins, Alan Thomas, Michael Welton, and Sallie Westwood. These proceedings will be mailed to all registrants. They are intended to serve as a post-conference synopsis and a means for sustaining the dialogue generated at this years gathering.

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MARKS ON PAPER: EXPLORING LITERACY THROUGH THEATRE

Cynthia Lee Andruske
The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

ABSTRACT: Throughout the 1980s, individuals, community groups, educators, and governments became aware that a serious literacy problem existed in Canada. This paper traces the twelve year history of Marks on Paper, a play used to raise awareness and combat illiteracy in British Columbia.

RESUME: Pendant les années quatre-vingts, des individus, des groupes dans des communautés, des éducateurs et des gouvernements se sont rendu compte du grave problème de l'analphabétisme qui existe au Canada. Ce compte-rendu raconte l'histoire de douze ans de Marks on Paper, une pièce de théâtre que l'on emploie pour augmenter la conscience de l'analphabétisme et la combattre en Colombie-Britannique.

For the past thirty years, literacy has been an international issue, especially in Third World countries. Literacy campaigns have mobilized populations in less developed countries and produced startling results according to North American standards in drastically reducting illiteracy. To date, internationally and nationally, literacy is linked more closely to successful economic and technological development within countries by allowing individuals to participate more fully in community life. Despite the apparent success of the literacy campaigns and the global importance given to the issue, concentrated efforts to eradicate illiteracy within Canada were slow in coming.

Although Canada supported literacy and education initiatives and often took a leadership role as a member of UNESCO, it was not until 1986 that literacy became an agenda item for the federal government (Selman & Dampier, 1991). The work of advocacy groups, labour unions, and community organizations identified the need to make literacy a federal issue. In September of 1987, the Canadian literacy problem was highlighted dramatically by the contents of the Southam News Survey by Peter Calamai: Broken Words: Why Five Million Canadian Are Illiterate (1987). The Southam Survey had an enormous impact on all levels of government, education, and community, for it documented that five million Canadians could not read, write, or use numbers well enough to meet the demands of today's society. Never before had the problem been seen to be so widespread within the general population.

During 1987, the federal government took a number of measures to alleviate illiteracy. It established a National Literacy Secretariat under the Department of Secretary of State, and $1 million was set aside for literacy initiatives. The same year, Toronto, Ontario, hosted an International Seminar on Literacy in Industrialized Countries. Conference members targeted illiteracy as a problem for both developed and less developed countries.

On International Literacy Day, 1988, Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, announced the allocation of $110 million for five years to be used for literacy initiatives with voluntary associations and program initiatives with provincial governments (B.C. Provincial Literacy Advisory Committee (PLAC), 1989). At the same time, the business community commissioned the Canadian Business Task Force on Literacy to conduct its own study to determine if the alarming findings in the Southam Survey had any substance and the implications that illiteracy might have for the business community. This study estimated "...the annual cost of adult illiteracy to be $10 billion - from industrial accidents, unemployment costs, and retraining" (PLAC, 1989, p. v).

In the meantime, the B. C. government commissioned a province-wide investigation by a fifteen member group: the Provincial Literacy Advisory Committee. This committee made a total of 34 recommendations to address all areas of adult illiteracy in B.C. in the report Opening the Doors to Lifelong Learning: Empowering Undereducated Adults (1989). This study indicated that a concerted and organized effort was needed provincewide to ensure that adults receive literacy and upgrading skills necessary for them to become fully self-developed and participating members within society. As a result of business, government, and community cooperation throughout Canada, the stage was now set internationally, nationally, and locally for a variety of literacy strategies.

Thus, the B.C. government put literacy on the provincial agenda. As well, education institutions, social agencies, and community organizations began delivery of a variety of literacy and upgrading programs to reach and meet the needs of a wider audience. Also, the Adult Basic Education Association of B.C. began a number of initiatives to promote awareness about literacy: provincewide publicity campaigns, a provincial Adult Literacy Contact and Referal Centre, and Project Literacy B.C. Project Literacy B.C. and later its spin-off grassroots organizations would serve to promote awareness about illiteracy within the local communities throughout B.C. and work with local communities to seek local solutions for addressing illiteracy.

For the first time ever in the fall of 1987, through the lobbying efforts of Project Literacy B.C., the Secretary of State, and the Ministry of Advanced Education and Job Training allocated a grant of $20,000 for literacy learner events to be held throughout B.C. The purpose of these events was to provide a higher profile for community literacy groups, activate learners in setting goals for their learning, and provide a safe place for learners to discuss their needs and concerns around literacy (Bate, 1988). Thus, the political, social, economic and educational contexts for the use and development of the literacy play Marks on Paper as a means of raising awareness were in place.

In 1979, Dr. David Thomas, coordinator of the Adult Basic Education Program at Northern Lights College in Fort St. John, B.C., commissioned the playwright, John Lazarus, to write Marks on Paper. Dr. Thomas, Brian Paisley and Ti Hallas of Chinook Touring Theatre believed that a touring prouction could be used in northern B.C. schools and communities "...to teach the community about illiteracy, and to let the illiterate know that they are not alone" (Lazarus, 1979, p. 1). The original version of Marks on Paper toured the North for several seasons. The play was presented in community centers, schools, native reserves, and other isolated areas in order to raise awareness about literacy and encourage people to learn to read. Originally, Lazarus wrote this play to reach people who would not normally go into literacy or upgrading programs because they did not have the conventional support systems that make entry into literacy programs easy. This play was meant to engage those who did not even know to go for help if they wanted to, for most people attending literacy programs have enough support systems to help them get into the program in the first place. During the northern tours, the play generated discussions about illiteracy in the communities and locations where it was shown.

The original play was an hour long production and consisted of a series of vignettes about people who have problems with reading and writing. These stories were collected by the playwright from students in adult literacy classes at Douglas College and Vancouver Community College in Vancouver, B.C. Lazarus established relationships with these individuals both inside and outside of the classroom. Moreover, he experienced their helplessness when he was assigned the duty of tutoring students who could not read. Marks on Paper deals with a number of universal themes and issues: fear of being found out, never learning to read, family and generational illiteracy, illiteracy being equated with stupidity, frustration, and vulnerability.

These themes and the power of the real human stories continued to generate interest in Marks on Paper. After ten years, the play reappeared in 1987 when Lazarus was asked to shorten his production so that it could be presented at the Adult Literacy Consultation held in Vancouver in March sponsored by Project Literacy B.C., the Adult Basic Education Association of B.C., and Secretary of State. The purpose of this conference was to heighten awareness among community leaders throughout the Yukon and B.C. as well as to attract the interest of government, labour, business, educators, and the media in order to develop community-based strategies for illiteracy (Hodgson, 1987). Again, Marks on Paper was performed by a professional company in order to create discussion about illiteracy while giving the problem a human side and creating critical reflection about the issue in order to heighten awareness and understanding in a search for solutions. Group problem solving discussions followed in order to generate recommendations for strategies to address the issue.

Perhaps the greatest resurgence and popularity of Marks on Paper began in May of 1989 when the play was the focal point for a learner event: "Literacy: The Next Step" held in Abbotsford, B.C. by Fraser Valley College and Project Literacy Abbotsford-Matsqui. Secretary of State, the Ministry of Advanced Education, and Project Literacy Abbotsford-Matsqui provided funds for the event. The conference organizers felt that theatre could be used to raise awareness about literacy and create a dialogue among illiterates, business people, educators, community members, concerned citizens, and members of social agencies within the community to develop local strategies to address the issue of literacy. One of the goals of the conference was to initiate a workplace based literacy program. At this conference, for the first time ever literacy learner and adult basic education students performed the play. The play was particulary meaningful for the cast because they knew people who were illiterate, or some of the members themselves had experienced the stories in the play. For them, they were portraying their stories or those of friends and loved ones. The audience was moved by the performance; it generated discussion and set the tone for the rest of the event. The outcome of the evening was, as had been hoped by the conference organizers, an offer from the local hospital representative to assist in the initiation and implementation of a workplace based literacy program.

Next, the influence of Marks on Paper was felt provincewide when the play was presented at the founding meeting of Literacy B.C. in March of 1990 in Vancouver, B.C. Literacy learners, individuals representing buiness, labour, immigrants, women, natives, senior citizens, colleges, libraries, school districts, and community organizations saw the play. Again, the vignettes generated discussion. At this conference, the audience members were moved by the plight of the illiterate that the vignettes highlighted. As well as generating dialogue among participants, other literacy learners began to discuss with the Marks on Paper cast how they could present the play. Additionally, librarians and educators approached the co-directors/co-producers about presenting the play at forthcoming community events.

After seeing the performance in Vancouver by the Literacy Players from Abbotsford, other literacy learners wanted to attempt to use theatre in their own communities. They too wanted to reach out to other illiterates and let them know that they were not alone. One such spin-off group to perform the play was the Heartbeat Players of Victoria, B.C. This group adapted Marks on Paper and made it truly their own, for unlike the Literacy Players, they did not memorize the lines of the script verbatim because some of the members had learning problems which were exacerbated by the stress of public performance. Thus, they used their own language. Furthermore, the Heartbeat Players began the play with an informal discussion about why they were performing. They concluded the performance with a discussion about how they thought the vignettes were performed. This dialogue, then, grew to include the audience at each of the presentations. The Heartbeat Players were assembled together as a cast from March to June of 1990. They received funding from the Ministry of Advanced Education and Secretary of State for one of these events. During May and June of that year, they performed the play four times. Through these performances, the Heartbeat Players created dialogue and problem-solving strategies between illiterates, community members, family, friends, and educators within the Victoria community about illiteracy. As well, the cast members underwent enourmous personal growth in self-esteem and self-confidence.

In addition to generating one spin-off production from the Literacy B.C. founding meeting, Marks on Paper piqued the interest of people for using theatre as a way to generate dialogue, critical thinking, problem-solving, empowerment, and ownership around the issue of literacy. This created an unanticipated demand for presentations of the Fraser Valley College/Project Literacy Abbotsford-Matsqui production of the play. From 1990 to the present, Marks on Paper has been performed for learner events, conferences, annual general meetings, International Literacy Day events, provincial events, and receptions. Audience members have included prisoners, learning disabled, social workers, literacy learners, educators, community members, provincial college board members, hospital workers, ABE students, and the general public. It is still in demand today. At the same time that the Literacy Players and co-producers/co-directors were generating interest in the play and networking with learners and other agencies, they, too, were developing a sense and ownership and history of the play. As a result of the co-producers/co-directors seeing a performance of the Heartbeat Players, they decided to introduce an informal introductory dialogue with the audience. This new introduction included all seven members telling about their history, involvement, commitment, process, and goals for the use of the play in order to engage the audience more fully in the themes of the play since many of the audiences were so diverse.

In June 1990, the first Provincial Learners' Conference was sponsored by Malaspina College and Adult Literacy Learners on the Way. Again, the B.C. Ministry of Advanced Education and National Literacy Secretariat provided funds. This five day event brought learners and educators together from throughout B.C. The conference was specifically focused around the needs of learners in the areas of accessing information, learning disabilities, writing, interviewing techniques, gaining access to law and legal rights, shaping organizations for learners, and discussing literacy issues. The Literacy Players presented Marks on Paper, but this time many of audience had lived through the themes and issues presented in the play. Some of the participants were moved to tears, for the play reminded them of the frustrations and struggles that they were in the process of overcoming. Afterwards the discussion focussed on how the learners could take charge of their own lives to overcome their problems. As well, learners wanted to create a provincewide support newtwork to share these issues and to voice their concerns about illiteracy to others throughout the province in order to reduce the problem and alleviate the human suffering endured by illiterates. Many participants went home with a new sense of ownership of and responsibility to creating solutions for illiteracy during International Literacy Year 1990.

To celebrate International Literacy Year (1990) and to focus attention on the next ten years for literacy strategies and changes, Douglas College hosted an international conference on literacy: "Literacy 2000." This conference was funded by the Ministry of Advanced Education, Secretary of State, National Literacy Secretariat, Multiculturalism and Citizenship, and Douglas College. Participants attended from all parts of Canada and the United States. The focus of the conference included innovative means of delivery of literacy, defining literacy, meeting learner needs, literacy and the community, culture and literacy, the workplace and literacy, and instructor training and accreditation. As well, Fernando Cardenal, former Minister of Education responsible for the National Literacy Campaign in Nicaragua in 1980, spoke to the audience about how the entire country of Nicaragua united in the fight against illiteracy. Cardenal discussed how the whole country had been turned into a nation of popular educators to conscientize and empower the people in creating a new and literate Nicaraguan society. Again, Marks on Paper was included in the opening of the event to give literacy a human voice through the learners' performance of the vignettes. When the play was introduced informally this time, realizing that the Literacy Players could not perform the play for every group that wanted the production, one of the co-producer/co-directors invited the audience not only to reflect on what they had learned from the play, but she encouraged learners and educators alike to start other performing groups that would present the play in other areas throughout the province. After the performance, a number of educators did approach the co-producer/co-director about how to attempt these productions.

One of the spin-off productions of this call was answered by an instructor at East Kootenay Community College in Cranbrook, B.C., for a learner event funded by the Ministry of Advanced Education and Secretary of State. For the first regional learner event in the East Kootenays, the instructor and her fundamental ABE students presented the vignette about standing up to read in school. The other scenes from the play were performed by the Mount Baker High School drama classes. In addition to the tremendous growth in self-confidence and self-esteem that occurred in the ABE students, the high school students presented a speech about how the play had awakened them to the importance of literacy. Also, the regional audience took the themes and messages back to their own communities in the East Kootenays in order to raise consciousness about the importance of literacy. In addition to the play, the activities of the day included workshops on money management, effective learning, and educational empowerment. The event proved to be so successful that the ABE students made Marks on Paper the focal point of their next learner event, which dealt with building self-esteem.

The research shows clearly that the economic, political, social, and education contexts were right for the foundations to be laid for the positive reception of Marks on Paper. Provincial and federal funding and provincial networking of individuals whose interests overlapped in many sectors of society allowed the play to be used as a tool for awareness raising throughout its different phases in B.C. Marks on Paper created the opportunity for individuals to experience and make meaning out of illiteracy through critical reflection and dialogue mediated through the use of theatre. Furthermore, the play deepened and created understanding about illiteracy through dramatic tension while it forced the viewer or actor to look at the human side of illiteracy which affects us all. The play served as a learning medium for all who saw it. The reactions ranged from "That's me up there," to increased awareness of what the illiterate is up against in society. Also, the play served to create greater networks among learners while it empowered them to create awareness in and dialogue with others in a search for and implementation of constructive community strategies for addressing the issue of illiteracy.

Although some might say that the play is being presented to those who are already interested in literacy or are enrolled in literacy and upgrading programs, it does have important implications for illiterates and literacy programming. Through the vignettes, the play generates more awareness and understanding about illiteracy in today's society. As well, it shows the need to provide a greater variety of accessible programs to meet the demands of the adult literacy learners' lives. Further, this play gives a human side to the issue of illiteracy and in turn creates more willingness for all members of the community to participate in finding local solutions for illiteracy. As well, these findings indicate that reaching school children before they leave the school system and suffer the same inequalities and stereotyping is important. The play also acts as a medium for empowering and providing the illiterate person with other means to having a voice in the literacy issue. Finally, experience with Marks on Paper shows that theatre can be used to create deeper awareness about social issues within the community in order to provide equal opportunities for all citizens in a democratic society.

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A Multifaceted Approach to Program Evaluation: A Nursing Re-Entry Perspective

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Abstract

This paper supports the results of three closely related research projects which explored: the program quality of a nursing refresher program in terms of learner fulfillment of personal and professional needs; the short term impact of a nursing refresher program upon re-entry to nursing practice; and the learning needs for re-entry as perceived by inactive nurses. These studies provide valuable information to the stakeholders who are examining the re-credentialling process.

Résumé

Le présent article confirme les résultats de trois projets de recherche étroitement reliés et exploraient: les besoins de formation exprimés par les infirmières inactives qui souhaitent reprendre la pratique de leur métier; la pertinence d'un programme de recyclage infirmier pour les apprenant(e)s sur le plan personnel et professionnel; et l'impact immédiat d'un programme de recyclage infirmier au moment du retour à la vie active. Ces études fournissent des données précieuses à toutes les personnes qui étudient le processus de renouvellement de la reconnaissance.

Introduction

The literature on program evaluation typically suggests that the most effective research design will focus on a number of different aspects of the program and the clientele it serves. Boone's (1985) conceptual programming model provided a thoeretical framework within which the learning needs of inactive nurses were assessed. The Torres and Stanton (1982) model for curriculum evaluation provided the framework for evaluation of program quality of one nursing refresher program. A theoretical model developed by Yeaw (1987) provided the framework for evaluating the impact of refresher programs on graduates' job performance.

Nursing refresher programs need to be evaluated as to their success in meeting the personal needs, professional needs, and other special needs of the adult learners. Adult learners in general demonstrate a variety of characteristics that influence educational participation (Knowles, 1984). Re-entry learners share some of these characteristics but have some distinct learning needs of their own (Curran and Lengacher,1982). The three studies in this paper focus specifically on the female adult re-entry learner and strongly suggest that programs must be developed to meet these needs. Perry (1986), also supports these findings and states that the nursing profession has an obligation to recognize the uniqueness of the female re-entry learner.

The recruitment of inactive nurses is the focus of refresher programs. However, issues such as personal and professional learning needs and job performance must be examined in order to assess the value of these retraining programs to the health care system in general and to the nursing population in particular. Nursing refresher programs emerged in North America to meet the needs of re-entry nurses. Eventually these programs became mandatory, professional standards were established, and evaluation criteria were developed. Different aspects of nursing refresher programs and their outcomes were evaluated by the writers. The purpose of this paper is to report the results of these research projects and make recommendations based on their findings.

Methods

Descriptive survey design was followed in all three research projects and questionnaires using open and closed ended questions were utilized. Semi-structured interviews and document analysis provided additional data.

The process evaluation study and the outcome study collected data from the 1987 to 1989 graduates from Alberta nursing refresher programs, their employers and their instructors. The needs assessment study collected data from inactive nurses of Alberta who had not worked within the nursing profession for four or more years as of 1991. Professional and personal learning needs and theoretical and clinical preparation for nursing practice were examined in the process evaluation study and the outcome study. The needs assessment study explored the barriers and the perceived personal and professional learning needs of inactive nurses. Data obtained from all three studies also included information regarding demographic characteristics, educational backgrounds and career patterns of the respondents. Questionnaire response rates from the three studies ranged from 54%-84%.

Descriptive and inferential statistical procedures were applied to the data collected. The following analyses were used: 1) measures of central tendency and measures of variation; 2) content analysis; 3) frequency and percentage distributions ;4) cross-tabulations and chi-square; 5) ANOVA, T-test and Scheffe's test.

Results

The findings from the needs assessment study indicated that the barriers to nursing re-entry relate to some personal and professional issues with the greatest barriers being outdated nursing knowledge and skills and home and family responsibilities. Inactive nurses have many personal learning needs upon re-entry to nursing. They perceive professional learning needs regarding nursing knowledge, nursing skills, and aspects of professional behavior to be of great importance for nursing re-entry. The findings also suggest that inactive nurses are interested in assessing their own learning needs for nursing re-entry. In addition, almost half of the respondents indicated an interest in returning to the nursing profession. Finally, the respondent's age, educational background, and career pattern did significantly affect some perceptions regarding the barriers and learning needs for nursing re-entry.

The process evaluation study examined one nursing refresher program in Alberta. The findings indicated that both students and instructors involved in the program felt that the personal and professional learning needs of students were effectively met within the traditional classroom format, the provision of direct clinical supervision,and a delimited time frame for program completion. These program characteristics were in fact found to be major strengths. Overall findings from the study indicated that the program was an extremely worthwhile and effective course and should be continued.

The outcome study examined nursing refresher graduates who had returned to nursing practice. Ninety-five percent of nursing refresher graduates returned to nursing practice and had no difficulty finding employment. The majority were employed in a general hospital on a part-time casual basis. Graduates' appraisal of job performance revealed that practice of nursing skills and nursing assessment were cited most frequently as clinical strengths while long term care nursing skills were listed more frequently as clinical weaknesses. Two-thirds of the graduates identified initial difficulties in nursing practice, especially as related to feeling inadequate and lacking confidence. Employers who were questioned for this study indicated that overall the graduates were well prepared for nursing practice. Many commented however that refresher graduates initially require more 'one-to one' supervision than other new employees. The majority of employers identified commitment and maturity as unique contributions made by refresher graduates. When refresher graduate job performance was compared to years absent from nursing it was found that no significant relationship existed for the quality of job performance and the length of time away from nursing. However, there was a positive relationship found between the length of previous nursing experience and the degree of clinical confidence.

The majority of refresher graduates had been absent from nursing between 6 and 15 years, had between 0 and 5 years previous nursing experience, and were between 35 and 44 years of age. The majority of inactive nurses from the needs assessment study were between the ages of 30 and 44 years of age. Most of these inactive nurses had worked as a nurse for 1 to 10 years. Almost all of the respondents in all three studies were married and had received their basic nursing education from a hospital based school of nursing.

Discussion

Alberta nursing refresher programs are successful in preparing inactive nurses to return to the workforce. However, re-entry nurses should be provided with the opportunity to assess their own learning needs. Re-entry nurses express the need to have feedback and supervision and to have peer support, but also express the need to learn independently. They also perceive professional learning needs regarding knowledge, skills, and attitudes to be important. A large number of re-entry nurses prefer the strong peer support and immediate feedback that is more commonly offered in a traditional teaching approach. One of the greatest barriers to re-entry perceived by nurses was found to be related to home and family responsibilities. Although these re-entry nurses initially require considerable 'one-to-one' orientation in order to overcome their lack of confidence, they ultimately make unique contributions to the workforce and are highly valued employees.

Implications for Practice

Results from these three studies indicate that Alberta Nursing Refresher Programs should be continued. Future programs should include a greater focus on practical skills, "new" technology, and equipment utilization. As well an increased focus on developing learner confidence through a process of realistic self-appraisal and assessment of the learners' professional and personal learning needs should be addressed. These programs should attempt to be specifically tailored to the individuals' career goals. Re-entry nursing programs should be designed to provide for a maximum amount of supervision and feedback and also consistent opportunity for peer contact.

New and prospective employers and program developers should be carefully advised of the initial orientation needs of the nursing refresher graduate and be prepared to invest time in orientation and support. Nursing refresher graduates should be strongly encouraged to work full time for at least 6 months following completion of a nursing refresher program.

Future research and follow-up evaluations should be conducted to assess long term work patterns, the ongoing needs of the nursing refresher graduates, and the needs of their employers. Educational needs assessments of inactive nurses should also be conducted on an ongoing basis.

These studies provide valuable information to professional associations who are evaluating the recredentialling process. Prospective employers in health care should be aware of the unique characteristics of re-entry nurses and their valuable contribution to their profession. The three studies together indicate that a multifaceted approach to program evaluation provides an opportunity for corroboration and validation of findings. The resulting conclusions are therefore strengthened and given greater credibility than would be possible from a single study.

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LES FEMMES ET LA PENSÉE CRITIQUE: QUESTIONNER LE MALAISE, IDENTIFIER DES PISTES DE SOLUTION

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Résumé: Cet article tente d'explorer quelques aspects du rapport professeur-e / étudiante qui, à notre avis, peuvent contribuer au développement de la pensée critique chez les femmes.

Abstract: This paper attempts to explore issues related to the professor / student relationship as it pertains to developing critical thinking skills in female students.

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Introduction

De façon générale, le milieu universitaire a le mandat de favoriser la croissance de sa population étudiante, tant sur le plan intellectuel que personnel et professionel. Cependant, des recherches récentes laissent supposer que les femmes et les hommes n'ont pas la même expérience du milieu universitaire (Ellickson & Latona, 1990, Goulet & Kurtzman, 1986; Hall & Sandler, 1982; Light, 1990; Williams, 1990). De plus, certaines études indiquent que les femmes citent rarement la situation pédagogique comme étant un endroit où elles vivent des apprentissages qui contribuent de manière significative à leur croissance personnelle (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Light, 1990).

Le thème qui retient notre attention et sur lequel nous souhaitons amorcer une réflexion est celui de la pensée critique. Plusieurs raisons influencent notre choix. Premièrement, il s'agit d'un champs d'étude pour lequel nous assistons présentement à un renouvellement d'intérêt dans les milieux académiques. Deuxièmement, la pensée critique est une habileté cognitive qui a une importance et un rôle considérables en milieu universitaire. Et, troisièmement, l'état de la question quant au dossier des femmes et de la pensée critique est encore à articuler. Toutefois, Belenky et al. (1986) ont suggéré que la pensée critique pouvait susciter un malaise chez beaucoup de femmes. Ainsi, le but de notre article est de réfléchir sur les fondements de ce malaise pour ensuite suggérer deux niveaux d'intervention pédagogique qui, selon nous, pourraient faciliter le développement de la pensée critique chez les étudiantes.

Être critique ou ne pas être critique... là n'est pas la question!

Selon Candy (1990), la pensée critique peut être définie comme un ensemble de dispositions, d'attitudes, d'habitudes et de traits de personnalité, qui, rassemblés, forment un esprit critique. Brookfield (1989) identifie quatre composantes principales qui caractérisent la pensée critique dont l'identification des postulats ainsi que la capacité de les défier, la contextualisation, l'exploration d'alternatives et la réflexion sceptique. Telle qu'elle est traditionellement conceptualisée, la pensée critique repose essentiellement sur une prémisse de méfiance où nous sommes tenus de repêcher les erreurs factuelles dans le discours de l'autre, d'exprimer le doute face aux propos avancés et de remettre en question la logique qui a mené les auteur-e-s vers leurs conclusions. «At the heart of separate knowing is critical thinking, or, as Peter Elbow (1973) puts it, "the doubting game". [...] the doubting game involves "putting someone on trial to see whether it is wanting or not"» (Belenky et al., 1986: 104).

Le malaise que peuvent ressentir certaines femmes vis-à-vis la pensée critique s'explique en partie par le fait que le modèle de la pensée critique traditionnelle ne répond pas aux êtres socialisés qu'elles sont. «Teachers and fathers and boyfriends assure [women] that arguments are not between persons but between positions, but the women continue to fear that someone may get hurt» (Belenky et al., 1986: 105). Le modèle traditionnel de la pensée critique, avec son accent sur l'objectivité, la distance et la séparation, néglige le contexte relationnel dans lequel la pensée critique est exprimée. De plus, la pensée critique fait surtout appel aux habiletés de confrontation et d'argumentation où la forme vaut autant, sinon plus, que le contenu. «Ceremonial combat, to women, often seems just silly. [...] the content of the academic arguments hardly mattered; what did matter was proving that you had mastered the form» (Belenky et al., 1986: 111). En raison de leur socialisation, les femmes apprennent à accentuer la dimension relationnelle dans leur vie. Ainsi, selon leur perception de la situation, les «règles du jeu» associées à la pensée critique risquent de menacer la qualité des rapports humains.

En plus de ne pas accorder une place suffisante à l'aspect relationnel, la pensée critique traditionnelle exige que les individus fassent abstraction de leurs expériences subjectives. «Separate knowing is in a sense the opposite of subjectivism» (Belenky et al., 1986: 104). En tant que société, nous avons tendance à admirer et à respecter les gens qui sont capables de cerner le coeur d'un argument sans confusion cognitive et en filtrant le contenu émotif. L'habileté à résoudre des problèmes en utilisant une méthode critique impeccable place les tenants de la pensée logique et analytique au summum du mont intellectuel (Walters, 1990). Pour réussir cette entreprise, il faut apprendre à exercer un jugement critique sans se référer à sa logique expérientielle. Ainsi, la «voix personnelle» doit céder sa place à la «voix de la raison». En taisant leur voix personnelle et subjective, certaines femmes ont tendance à se sentir aliénées d'elles-mêmes — elles développent alors des sentiments d'imposture (Belenky et al., 1986). Dans le contexte d'une société patriarcale, la majorité des femmes ont dû lutter pour se forger une parole à soi, une parole qui émerge de leur expérience personnelle et de leur vécu de femme. Il est donc important voire essentiel que cette parole soit gardée bien vivante dans le contexte d'apprentissage.

Ainsi, la problématique de la pensée critique est logée dans son encadrement théorique traditionnel plutôt que chez les femmes elles-mêmes. Le malaise provient en partie du fait que la pensée critique exige l'objectivité et le détachement, négligeant l'aspect relationnel. Nous abordons maintenant deux dimensions reliées à la dynamique professeur-e / étudiante qui peuvent relancer la discussion sur la question des femmes et de la pensée critique.

L'impact d'un mode de vie relationnel: le rôle de la sphère d'influence en milieu pédagogique

Le mode de vie relationnel n'est pas une abstraction théorique mais bien une réalité concrète vécue par les femmes (Belenky et al., 1986; Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976; Peck, 1986; Schaef, 1981). Peck (1986) utilise l'expression «sphère d'influence» pour qualifier la somme des relations avec lesquelles chaque femme est impliquée à divers moments de son existence. Dans leur ensemble, les relations significatives peuvent influencer de manière considérable le processus d'autodéfinition de chaque femme. Peck inclut les rapports avec le conjoint, les enfants, la famille d'origine, les ami-e-s, et même, le rapport avec son travail ainsi que les affiliations à des groupes particuliers (exemples: religion, culture) dans la sphère d'influence.

Cependant, nous croyons que Peck (1986) a négligé la question des rapports en milieu universitaire, et plus spécifiquement, dans les situations d'apprentissage.

Étant donné qu'une formation au niveau diplômé et post-diplômé s'échelonne sur plusieurs années, nous croyons possible que les relations avec les professeur-e-s et les collègues s'intègrent, ne serait-ce que temporairement, à la sphère d'influence de certaines étudiantes. Si tel est le cas, la qualité affiliative des rapports pédagogiques devient une variable importante à cause de son impact possible sur les étudiantes. Des recherches ont cependant démontré que beaucoup d'étudiantes adultes expriment un sentiment d'aliénation et d'isolement en milieu universitaire (Ellickson & Latona, 1990; Goulet & Kurtzman, 1986; Hall & Sandler, 1982; Williams, 1990). Les répercussions de cette réalité sont multiples. Mentionnons, par exemple, que la pensée critique est une habileté cognitive qui s'acquiert et se développe par interaction avec des «guides» d'où l'importance d'un milieu pédagogique qui place l'aspect relationnel au centre de ses préoccupations.

Une organisation du milieu pédagogique qui intègre la dimension relationnelle est plus susceptible de favoriser le développement de la pensée critique chez les étudiantes. En milieu universitaire, le contexte relationnel comprend deux niveaux: 1) niveau individuel (relation professeur-e et étudiante, y compris la supervision des thèses) et 2) niveau du groupe (relations avec les collègues de classe).

Le climat épistémologique de la salle de classe: l'importance d'explorer le savoir d'expérience des étudiantes

L'enseignement traditionnel de type magistral est surtout caractérisé par l'écoute, la mémorisation et la reproduction fidèle, par les étudiantes et les étudiants, d'un savoir transmis par une autorité. Mais un savoir mémorisé n'est pas synonyme d'un savoir compris (Artaud, 1985). L'étudiante qui reçoit toutes les réponses avant même de s'être posée des questions risque de voir son pouvoir créateur s'atrophier sous le poids de son questionnement dissimulé. En quoi un tel modèle, pourrait-il susciter le développement de la pensée critique? «In considering how to design an education appropriate for women, suppose we were to begin by simply asking: What does a woman know?» (Belenky et al., 1986: 198). L'éducation traditionnelle ne trouve pas son point de départ dans la connaissance des étudiantes mais bien dans la connaissance des professeur-e-s.

La salle de cours qui souhaite favoriser les apprentissages à toutes sortes de niveaux devient un lieu de critique, de discussion et de «lutte» intellectuelle. Aussi, une pédagogie qui souhaite placer les étudiantes au coeur de l'acte d'enseigner doit-elle se doter d'un encadrement flexible dans lequel l'acte de transmission des connaissances s'inscrit dans une relation dynamique entres les professeur-e-s et les apprenantes. Entre l'enseignement magistral et l'auto-apprentissage, se trouve une solution viable en milieu universitaire. Cette solution est le recours à l'expérience de l'étudiante, non pas dans le but d'illustrer et de confirmer le savoir enseigné, mais dans le but de permettre une interaction réelle entre la théorie et l'expérience. Une telle interaction, entre la personnalité de l'étudiante, son savoir d'expérience et les théories enseignées, peut enrichir le cadre théorique en lui accordant un sens personnel. Le discours de l'étudiante sur la matière enseignée et apprise est alors témoin d'une tentative de reconstruction plutôt que d'une simple assimilation. Cette approche, appelée interactionniste, fut conceptualisée par Gérard Artaud (1985). Elle s'appuie sur deux paramètres: 1) il est, d'une part, nécessaire de transmettre un contenu théorique sans lequel le savoir d'expérience de l'apprenante demeure inachevé et incomplet, et, 2) il est, d'autre part, essentiel de transmettre ces connaissances de manière à susciter l'interaction du sujet avec le contenu et développer son esprit critique (Artaud, 1989).

Conclusion

Le malaise des femmes vis-à-vis la pensée critique découle en partie de leur socialisation qui néglige certains comportements ou attitudes nécessaires au développement de la pensée critique traditionnelle (exemple: les filles sont davantage socialisées à plaire qu'à défier). Également, l'organisation même du milieu pédagogique peut contribuer à créer une atmosphère qui nourrit le malaise ressenti (exemple: chacune et chacun pour soi). Finalement, peut-être faudrait-il recycler le concept de la pensée critique traditionnelle de sorte à intégrer l'aspect relationnel? Enfin, des mesures doivent être prises qui permettront aux étudiantes de développer leur pensée critique sans devoir négliger les réalités développementales et socioculturelles qui guident leur vie.

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MARINE INCIDENTS AND THEIR PREVENTION THROUGH EDUCATION

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Abstract: Each year the Government of Canada spends $220 million on Search and Rescue (SAR). About 7000 marine incidents are logged at Rescue Coordination Centres and about 200 mariners die. The *prevention* of marine incidents depends upon regulation and education. The purpose of this paper was to analyse the 35,000 incidents logged by the Canadian Coastguard between 1985 and 1988, to present a model showing factors involved in the initiation and progress of marine incidents and to examine factors associated with prevention education.

INTRODUCTION

Each year the Government of Canada spends approximately 220 million dollars on (air, land and marine) Search and Rescue (SAR), about 200 mariners die and about 7000 marine incidents are logged at Rescue Coordination Centres. Between 1985 and 1988 about 35,000 "incidents" came to the attention of the Canadian Coastguard; nearly half involved vessels in the western region. In addition to the roughly 7000 incidents (groundings, broken down, person overboard etc) that come to the attention of the Coastguard each year, many more occur out of sight of the authorities or in places not serviced by Coastguard. Nobody knows how many incidents occur in an average year but it could approximate 100,000. In British Columbia about 200 people drown each year and, according to the Red Cross (1988), boating accidents are the primary cause of drowning in B.C./Yukon. In 1987 the number of drownings in B.C. was 2.15 times greater than the national average. A marine incident is an unexpected and unwelcome occurrence that involves a situation where one or more individuals on a boat - or other marine structure - are in (or are getting into) a situation where they require assistance so as to avoid death, injury, inconvenience or property damage. SAR incidents are of two types: *distress*, where the threat of death or serious physical harm exists if aid is not rendered, and *non-distress*, where the direct threat of death or physical harm does not exist, but could develop if assistance was not rendered. Marine incidents represent a considerable drain on public and private funds and contain an enormous potential for controversy. For example, the 1990-91 federal estimates for marine SAR in Canada were as follows: National Defence $120 million; Transport Canada (Coastguard) $83 million; Fisheries and Oceans $889,000; RCMP $347,000. For every one hundred dollars that the Government of Canada spends on SAR *response* it spends only $1.50 on SAR *prevention* (National Search and Rescue - Part III of the Federal Estimates, 1990-91).

A 1983 evaluation of Search and Rescue in Canada, coupled with the Report of the Ocean Ranger (drilling rig) disaster, along with demands for reductions in public spending, have led to an acceleration of interest in the prevention of marine incidents. Prevention is normally construed as *regulation* (and enforcement of existing standards) and *education*. However, at present, only three of the $220 million spent on Canadian SAR goes to prevention. Coastguard *prevention* efforts are mostly focussed on courtesy examinations, giving "presentations", boat show exhibits an working with agencies such as the Red Cross and Coastguard Auxiliary. There is a strong lobby in Canada that favours operator (as well as vessel) licensing and mandatory continuing education for boaters. There is an equally strong lobby that believes the costs of enforcing a "heavy" system outweigh the benefits, and that boating safety is best ensured through informal and nonformal education that has adequate regard to the social ecology of boating and boaters. For many people, marine incidents, even fatalities, are an inevitable corollary of life at sea. Those who "make it" (into retirement) are "lucky." Fatalism provides little incentive for prevention; death, injury and property loss are widely regarded as "part of the price" to be paid for being on the water. Technological change has meant that one type of incident (exploding boilers) has been replaced by another (gasoline fires). Other types of incident remain constant. For example, Galiano in the Sutil hit the reef at Canoe Rocks in Porlier Pass in 1791 and, the following year, George Vancouver was lucky not to lose the Discovery when he grounded (and rolled over) near the north end of Vancouver Island.

Various elements in the SAR or boating community gather data for their own purposes. Yet there is a marked lack of research that could inform prevention programs, with the exception of the occasional "evaluation" of some new product - for example survival suits, harnesses, liferafts or flares. Insurance companies study claim patterns and manufacturers test equipment. Probably the most impressive research is done by the Transportation Accident Investigation and Safety Board but this primarily concerns commercial or larger vessels. The Deschenes (1984) study on marine casualty investigation was noteworthy. The Coastguard monitors the frequency of incidents that come to their attention, the R.C.C.'s forward data to the SAR Secretariat in Ottawa. But these databases are used mostly to monitor equipment use and, apart from the occasional exception little of the information becomes part of any public dialogue about boating safety. Even more worrying is that, in times of declining budgets, those who control the most important data could be considered to be in a conflict of interest because the ability to secure resources depends on maintaining a high number of incidents. The continuing occurrence of thousands of marine incidents is partly attributable to a lack of sound data and good theory which can be used to shape *prevention education* which, at present, is handled in a haphazard way. Nevertheless, marine incidents, are usually assumed to have resulted from a series of events or causal sequences that are somehow different from those which occur in "incident-free" boating. Inadequate research easily leads to the adoption of "prevention strategies" whose adequacy remains untested. There is no shortage of "common-sense" in the SAR community. Yet a lot of programs adopted because of common sense (e.g. handing out pamphlets) fail to withstand critical scrutiny.

INCIDENTS DATABASE

As part of an effort to disentangle variables associated with marine incidents the author secured a copy of the raw data in the Coastguard Marine Incidents database for 1985, 1986, 1987 and 1988. After all the "continuation" lines were eliminated (indicating that a second resource was dispatched) this meant that R.C.C.'s logged 30,040 separate marine incidents in the four years encompassed in the analysis. Of the incidents, 43.00 percent were in the western region, 20.20 percent in Central Canada, 12.8 percent in the Laurentian region and 18.00 percent in the Maritimes. Only 6.00 percent were in Newfoundland. This should not be interpreted to mean that boaters in Western Canada were more careless or accident-prone that those in other parts of Canada. Although mechanisms exist to monitor the situation, nobody knows how many boats or boaters there are in different parts of Canada, so it was not possible to establish the extent to which the ratio of incidents to boaters varies throughout Canada. Nevertheless, the fact Western Canadian boaters racked up nearly 13,000 incidents between 1985 and 1988 (and these are only the ones that came to the attention of the R.C.C. in Victoria), shows the magnitude of the problem. It is probable that when all the incidents that do not come to the attention of the Coastguard are added to those entered in the database, there could be up to 100,000 per year in the Western region.

In the Coastguard files vessels were coded according to type and size and there are codes for sailboards, offshore drilling rigs and open boats. For present purposes this variable was recoded so as to distinguish between six vessel types and "non-vessels." In the four years reported here, 36.1 percent of incidents involved pleasure/power boats; 15.3 percent involved sailboats, 26.6 percent involved fishing boats. Rowing boats and canoes were involved in 1131 incidents (3.8 percent of the total). Commercial or government vessels were involved in 972 (or 3.2 percent of) incidents.

Because there is little emphasis on securing and using on scene information it is difficult to speculate about the cause of incidents. Sometimes the cause has little to do with boat maintenance or the condition of the operator; at other times it resides in cumulative errors or negligence that started long before the vessel left the dock. Moreover, once an incident begins, what started as an inconvenience can develop into a serious situation (as in the Catch-22 broaching north of Thrasher Rock - see *Canadian Yachting*, Summer, 1990). Sometimes there is insufficient evidence concerning the cause of an incident (such as in the Canadian National No. 5 sinking). All incidents have a life cycle and, as error piles on error, the ultimate cause will often end up being something other than what triggered the incident in the first place. What the boat operator does after an incident is "in progress" is, in many cases, more important than what he/she did to initiate or trigger the situation. Thus, when thinking about cause it is necessary to remember both *antecedent* and *trigger* events.

The data for the four years encompassed by the study appear to suggest that the most frequently occurring incidents (n=12,435, 36.1 percent) involved mechanical failure, 10.2 percent were false alarms, 10 percent involved adrift or derelict vessels, 9.9 percent were groundings. There were 339 person-overboard situations - a very serious event even in calm seas. The mean wind velocity during incidents was reported to be 10.35 knots (S.D. = 9.02), there were an average of 1.72 persons on board the subject vessels (S.D. = 7.41) and, of the 34,436 incidents, 4337 (or 12.6 per cent) were deemed to constitute **distress** - often involving a Mayday.

About 200 lives are lost in distress incidents each year. Sometimes several lives are lost in a single incident (such as in the foundering of the **Canadian National No. 5** in Georgia Strait, February, 1990). A crude index of vulnerability can be obtained by dividing the number of lives lost by the number of incidents experienced by, for example, different vessel types. Thus, of the 1155 incidents involving government vessels, 116 (or 10.04 percent) involved a loss of life, 10.55 percent of incidents with open boats involved loss of life as did 8.56 percent of "non-vessel" (inc. sailboards), and 3.23 percent of incidents involving fishboats. Only 50 sailboat incidents involved loss of life (during 9.7 percent of the sailboat incidents); the 12,566 pleasure/power boat incidents involved 211 (or 1.68 percent) incidents where lives were lost.

Incidents occur because of complex interactions between human, technical and environmental variables. It would be desirable to establish procedures for gathering data that can be fitted into a model that will guide the content of and processes associated with *prevention* education.

A MODEL OF MARINE INCIDENTS

The extent to which theory or conceptual frameworks can be employed as tools to *prevent* marine incidents is inhibited by widespread suspicion concerning "theory" which, in SAR circles, sounds suspiciously "airy fairy" and might somehow come to displace good old "commonsense" acquired in the school of hard knocks or rough seas off Cape Scott.

Theorizing about marine incidents could affect *prevention* in several ways. First, broad frames of reference that lie behind theories or models affect the way the problem is construed. For example, to what extent do incidents stem from adverse socioeconomic circumstances ? The lack of safety equipment -- VHF radios, flares, liferafts, PFD's -- also stems from poverty or a lack of access to reasonable supplies. Education construed in this way would show how incidents arise from socioeconomic circumstances.

An observer whose view of marine incidents is *interpretivist* will place great emphasis on the way boat operators construe "safety," "risk," their "masculinity," the "weather" and other attributes of life on the water. The emphasis here would be on a *subjective* view of the world. For example, how do men and women construe "safety," "risk" and "prevention" ? There is a strong suspicion in some quarters that a macho attitude results in situations where people are **aware** of dangers but fail to adopt the appropriate **behaviour** -- just like cigarette smokers or people who drive without seat belts. An approach informed by a *subjective* perspective would be particularly important for new-Canadians who fear "authority," have learned to distrust government, and do not understand prevention messages in English.

Educators should focus on the way people construe the world differently, and develop educational concepts and processes tailored to the multiple "realities" inhabited by, for example, fishermen, pleasure boaters, commercial operators or kayakers. Prevention education construed on this basis would be participatory, conducted in community -- rather than institutional -- settings, involve "teachers" and "learners" of equal or similar status and designed to empower (even poor) boaters to take action to protect themselves. It would also lay stress on gender, power relationships on boats and the extent to which "gender dominance" creates vulnerabilities in person overboard or other perilous situations. In contrast, an observer who believes there is an *objective* reality, and that variables are lawfully interrelated, is likely to be less interested in subjective constructions of the world than with technical details of weather, machinery, aids to navigation and boat handling (Boshier, 1990).

Fig. 1 shows the components of a model with variables, that in different combinations, represent what happens during most marine incidents. Every vessel has the potential to become involved in an incident. There is no doubt that deferred maintenance, the presence of unsafe equipment or heavy loads, can later combine with bad weather or operator error to produce an incident. Yet it is important to realize that once an incident is "triggered," what the operator does to control or respond to it has a critical effect on the severity of the situation. Thus, in Fig. 1 there are three components - *antecedents*, *trigger events* and *consequents*. Time goes from left to right and may range from a few seconds (as in an explosion) to many hours (as in a grounding or sinking). In the "real" world of marine incidents it is sometimes difficult to disentangle antecedents from trigger events and consequents since they are often tightly woven as a series of fast-moving events. Moreover it is the variable interactions -- between say the *human* and *environmental* variables that are of greatest interest and most amenable to prevention through education. Although there are grounding "hot spots" (such as Silva Bay's famous Shipyard Rock - see Boshier, 1985; Boshier, 1989), and persistent technical failures (such as breakdowns in engines, sterndrives, steering and electrical systems) each incident involves a unique combination of antecedents, triggers and consequents.

Antecedents

Antecedent variables are those that either singly, or in combination with other variables, render a vessel and her crew vulnerable to incidents. By themselves, antecedent variables do not constitute an incident. For example, plenty of people have gone to sea in a leaky boat without incident. But leaky boats, and the presence of other *human*, *technical* and *environmental* antecedents create a vulnerability.

Human Variables

The human variables can be classified as concerning:

a. Perceptual Processes
b. Cognitive Processes
c. Personality Processes
  - Intellectual Development
  - Socio-cultural Background
d. Psychomotor skills

Technical Variables

The technical variables can be classified as concerning:

a. Hull Integrity and Stability
b. Integrity of Machinery
c. Condition and Operability of Navigation Equipment.

Environmental

The environmental variables that trigger incidents can be classified as:

a. Natural - sea and wind conditions, light levels, fog conditions, navigation hazards
b. Man-Made - aids and barriers to navigation, other vessels.

Trigger Events

The antecedent variables influence the extent to which a crew or vessel is vulnerable to the influence of events which, when added to the existing vulnerability, triggers a marine incident. Trigger events can be sudden or prolonged. Sometimes the trigger event occurs within the skipper or crew (helmperson falls asleep), sometimes it is "technical" (load moves) or "environmental" (vessel is caught in a storm or fog). Trigger events do not have the same effect on all crews and vessels. Their impact depends upon the vulnerability of the crew and vessel. Trigger events almost always arise from the single or combined effects of human, technical and environmental variables. They can be minor (hitting a sandbank) or catastrophic (collision with a freighter).

Consequences

"One thing leads to another" and there is little doubt that what the operator, equipment or "environment" does, once an incident has been triggered, has a considerable influence on its resolution, It often determines if lives are lost and has a significant impact on the expense of rectifying the situation. In many respects what the crew do once an incident is "in progress" is of even greater significance than the antecedent or trigger variable combinations. Once an incident is "in progress" the crew have little control over environmental variables, but the way in which the human and technical variables manifest themselves can be of immense significance. For example, if a skipper drives a vessel onto a reef, knowing how to stem the flow of water into the hull could be critical.

After incidents have been triggered, the skipper's need to conceal his or her (but usually his) predicament, profound panic or "errors of judgement" can significantly worsen a situation that, if approached from another perspective, could be more easily resolved. Again, it is useful to separate the human from the technical and environmental variables that arise as a *consequence* of a trigger event and thus become part of an incident in-progress.

The way this model can be used to analyze marine incidents and highlight issues pertaining to prevention is now illustrated by briefly describing selected marine incidents. For illustrative purposes only one example of each type of incident is reported here. Far more exhaustive analyses are available in the reports of the Canadian Transportation Accident Investigation and Safety Board (CTAISB) which has had the mandate to investigate marine accidents in Canada since March 29, 1990. In this summary, the vessel is named and the chief antecedents (A^1 - human; A^2 - technical; A^3 - environmental), trigger events (T^1, T^2, T^3) and consequents (C^1, C^2, C^3) identified.

Human Antecedents Dominant: The owner of the sailboat **Chetak** anchored in Nanaimo harbour but, before going to sleep, failed to consult or misconstrued the tide tables (A^1). As the tide receded in the early morning hours the vessel grounded. Swift action at this point could have saved the situation but an incident was triggered when the vessel rolled over and took on water (T^2). It was later pumped out and refloated with flotation equipment. Although the chief consequences were human (C^1) the skipper and the boat were in good shape and continued on their cruising holiday.

Technical Antecedents Dominant: The 33' gillnetter **Silver Tide** left Lasqueti Island in Georgia Strait on August 12, 1990 headed to a gillnet opening at the mouth of the Fraser River. At about 2.30 a.m. on August 13 the seas were getting bigger, and by 5.a.m. the stern was down in the water and the skipper felt the vessel had become sluggish. At 5.15 a.m. waves broke over the stern, the skipper glanced at his radar, secured an accurate position, called Mayday and told his daughter to launch their Beaufort 'A'-pack liferaft. Both grabbed survival suits, clambered aboard the raft which deployed properly and awaited rescue by a Coastguard hovercraft. The chief antecedent of this incident was the fact the "stern apron" of this vessel had come away from the hull (A^2). As **Silver Tide** banged and crashed into the southerly winds and eight foot seas the gillnetter began taking on water. Thus the primary antecedent was the hull weakness (A^2); the incident was triggered by bad weather (environmental variable - T^3). The chief consequents were human variables (C^1) and, in this case, both skipper and crew acted in an appropriate fashion. Their ability to call a Mayday and give an accurate position greatly enhanced the probability of rescue. The boat was ruined and subsequently burned in a shipyard (C^2). In summary, deferred maintenance (A^1 and A^2) caused the stern apron to come away from the gillnetter which took on water (T^2) and was overwhelmed by high seas (T^3). Fortunately, the skipper gave an accurate position and safely made it into a raft (C^1)

Environmental Antecedents Dominant: The **Catch-22**, a 30' Philbrooks sloop was overwhelmed by big seas (A^3) a few miles north of Thrasher Rock. The male skipper, an experienced seamen from the British merchant navy, was unable to control his vessel (A^1) and could get no assistance from his wife (in a wheelchair) or two young children. Lines and sails were washed over the side, fouled his propellor (T^2) and placed so much torque on the drive shaft that the diesel engine came off its mounts and was loose in the engine room (T^2). This was a well found craft. The chief antecedents were the high seas (environmental - A^3); the trigger event was the fouled propellor and loose engine. The chief consequents were "human" (C^1). The willingness of the family to go sailing was damaged and, a few years later, the marriage had ended. There is a fuller description of this incident in Boshier (1990).

IMPLICATIONS

When considering the *sources of variance* in marine incidents, it is interesting to speculate about the relative contribution of human, technical and environmental variables (and their various interactions) and what this means for prevention. There is a tendency in some circles to dwell on technical matters, safety equipment, flares and so on. These are exceedingly important, as are the maintenance of proper navigation and other aids that help boaters deal with currents, rock piles, fog banks, winds and other environmental hazards. But these are relatively easy matters to deal with compared to the complicated interactions of *human factors* involving perception, learning, motivation and socio-culturally acquired ways of construing safety. Flares and P.F.D.'s are significantly less complicated than human foibles.

Prevention education in Canada tends to focus on "technical" and "environmental" matters. There has been some commendable work with fishermen and yacht club members are generally well served. But the boating community is highly differentiated and it cannot be assumed that the upper class people who charter 42' sailboats from Granville Island, or the affluent members of certain yacht clubs, have the same perceptual and cognitive processes, let alone attitudes and beliefs concerning safety, as those of crab fishermen, gillnetters and the thousands of folk who launch 12' aluminium dinghies (with small outboard motors) up and down the coast. Even the sub-communities within identifiable sectors (e.g. fishing) are highly differentiated. Hence it cannot be assumed that the approach used with seine fishermen will work with gulftrollers, outside trollers or gillnetters. Quite apart from factors associated with different gear types, we must also consider the ethnic composition of different parts of the fishing fleet and the fact it is largely a male world.

The boating community is changing. For example, the large variety of cultural backgrounds possessed by fisherman operating out of western ports has created a new challenge (as shown by the problem with asphyxiation and "running" from authorities in the winter of 1988-89), while declining fish stocks and prices are tempting fisherman to take risks. Fisherman are also prone to claim that lives will always be lost in B.C. waters until someone changes the weather. Unfortunately, the pressure on fish stocks is causing fishermen to go into rougher waters than previously and the SAR community should be careful not to habitually "blame the victim" for incidents. The cause of an incident often resides in *structural* factors that leave the individual boater with limited options and an inability to exercise "choice." Boaters are mostly men who have been conditioned to take risks. Western-style cultures have always rewarded the risk taker - whether bull fighter, mountaineer, prize fighter, investor, politician or test pilot. Such individuals are endowed with heroic and masculine qualities even when risk-taking leads to failure or injury. *Prevention* measures might call for incorporation of features which prevent incidents (or save lives) but diminish the status of the user. For example, do "real" men need liferafts or EPIRBS ? More importantly, an emphasis on incident reduction or prevention might fly in the face of advertising campaigns that emphasize speed, power and dominance.

These kinds of cultural and sub-cultural factors hinder the acceptance or implementation of safety messages. Psycho-social barriers to prevention require extensive research, but must be considered together with the fact that *prevention* measures sometimes involve threats to industries. For example, certain large boat manufacturers are reluctant to get involved with research about their products which could lead to revelations about construction defects. Thus, when construing the notion of prevention, educators or regulators have to consider questions like -- Who benefits ? Who is in charge here ? Who controls this "knowledge" and whose interests are being served ? The need to prevent marine incidents poses a formidable challenge to educational theory and practice and it is clear that **awareness** and **attitude-change** will not suffice unless they evoke appropriate **behaviour**. *Prevention* education is not just a rational/technical process of delivering information but one deeply embedded in the sociocultural, political and economic contexts of the many boating communities in Canada.

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EXPLORING THE NEEDS OF ADULT STUDENTS IN POST-SECONDARY INSTITUTIONS: A USE OF QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE METHODS

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Statement of the Problem:

Adult learners have been enrolling at post-secondary institutions at an increasing rate since the late 1970s. Projections indicate that this trend will continue as the social forces encouraging lifelong learning continue (United Way of American's Strategic Institute 1990). This demographic shift on campuses, combined with the push toward quality assurance in higher education (Webster 1990) and the concern over the link between quality education, labour market performance and economic productivity (Parsley, 1991) make the requirement for assessing the needs of student populations an important one. This project used a case study approach to explore the issues and concerns of returning and multiple role learners at a large, publicly funded university.

Background Information:

The literature base in higher education is extensive and information is readily available about the needs and characteristics of student populations. Much has also been written about adult learners and, to a lesser extent, about adult students in post-secondary institutions. Tinto (1975), for example, has outlined a model of student attrition that has been widely used and tested. Two of the main constructs in Tinto's model, social and academic integration, have been demonstrated to have an impact on a student's commitment to graduation and therefore are an important influence in the decision to continue studying or withdraw. We can combine this information with Jarvis' (1987) suggestion that the primary characteristic of adult learners is their differentiating social status, as it relates both to their younger student counterparts and their relationship to their instructors. If adult students have a different social status, or social role configuration, than the traditional age students on post-secondary campuses, and social integration is important to the student experience, we might expect that the ways in which adult students operationalize this need for social integration will be different.

Different social status for adult learners means a different set of roles and responsibilities. Role strain, an umbrella construct suggesting a situation where one has difficulty meeting the obligations of multiple roles (Sieber 1974) has been cited often as an issue for adult learners. Study at higher education institutions requires meeting obligations and devoting time to classes, assignments and exam and paper preparation. This demanding schedule, when combined with the demands of other roles, such as spouse, parent and/or employee, may result in some form of role strain. This construct can be broken down into the problems of inadequate role preparation, role conflict and role overload.

Inadequate preparation for the role of student is a possibility for adult learners who may have been out of the formal education system for some time. Study skills, background information and confidence, all critical factors to students success, may be in short supply. Clearly the degree of role preparation will make a difference in the efficiency of meeting role obligations (Horton and Hunt 1984).

Role conflict occurs where role expectations are in direct conflict, regardless of time pressures. In other words, behavior that complies with the expectations of one role may violate the expectations of the other. This is likely in situations where the socioeconomic status of the individual, their family and community, is different than the primarily middle class status of individuals involved at post-secondary institutions. Behaviors, values and ways of communicating vary across levels in the social strata and may cause distress and confusion for a student trying to integrate into the campus community.

Role overload refers to the strain induced by time. As the number of roles increases, the number of role obligations increases, putting a squeeze on the use of available time. This load for adult students can reduce the amount of time and energy they can devote to activities that would aid them in social and academic integration on campus.

This variation in social status will also have an effect on the relationship between student and faculty members. Jarvis suggests that adult learners bring an experiential history to the learning context and do not necessarily grant the teacher the authority that younger students will grant them. They are also likely to be closer to their instructors in terms of age and more likely to have reciprocal role identification. These factors may translate into different expectations in their relationship with instructors. Differing expectations could have an effect on adult students' social integration and an academic integration, one of the other important constructs from Tinto's model.

This project was an attempt to determine how these characteristics of adult learners really do effect student life and what services could be provided to assist students in dealing with the problems that arise because of their social status. Also, the adult learner population is not a homogeneous one and some students will have more difficulty, because of background characteristics and coping strategies, than others. It was also felt that our adult student population is somewhat unique based on the required integration on this campus. On many campuses, adult students are primarily evening students. As the campus in question offers very little in the way of evening classes and programs, adult students, although often part-time, are primarily day students. Also, most of the adult students on this campus enter with standard admission and/or transfer credits. As few as 13% of the adult student body enter as nonmatriculated adults, and some of these students may have been to college or technical school before coming to university.

Our objective was to determine the configuration of adult student needs on our campus, and gather information that would help us translate this information about needs into effective student service. Efficiency is paramount due to shrinking budgets and limited staff resources; information on what programs are required and who these programs should be targeted to is crucial. We are working from the assumption that with enough support and the right services, the problems imposed by the differing social status can be minimized. With the reduction in problems, the adult student is free to maximize their academic potential, benefiting the student, the institution, and ultimately, the larger society.

Data Collection Methods:

Although much has been written about student populations and student services in higher education, a desire to look carefully at the adult student population at a particular institution required that the research go back to being exploratory in nature. Therefore, no relationships were hypothesized beforehand, but rather an inductive approach was used.

It was of great importance that a clear and detailed picture of the needs of adult learners emerge from the data collection methods. To accomplish this, three main methods were used. A survey was used to collect two types of information. A questionnaire was sent to a random sample of 500 adult students on campus. Adult student was defined as any undergraduate degree seeking student over the age of 24 years of age. This questionnaire was made up of primarily fixed choice questions about their satisfaction on campus, their preferences for services to be offered, their use of existing services and demographic data. Space for comments was left in two places on the questionnaire; these comments constituted the second type of information gathering we used. Finally, three focus groups with 6 - 8 adult students were formed from a randomly designed list of adult students on campus.

Surveys were mailed with a covering letter which included an offer of a donation to a Christmas charity for students on campus for each survey that was returned. A follow-up letter was sent to those that had not been returned after several weeks. As a final attempt to get as many returns as possible, each student that had not yet returned their survey after eight weeks was called by telephone and reminded of the survey. A return rate of 47% (233/500) was realized.

Data from fixed choice questions was coded, entered into a computer data file by optical scoring and analyzed using SPSS. Responses to comment areas in the survey were analyzed by both researchers, using a constant comparison method. The responses were then re-assessed based on the categories that emerged from the separate analyses. Final categories were decided on and responses grouped by category. A final check was made to look for any responses that were a 'poor fit' and modifications made where necessary. The final groupings consist of five main categories, with two main categories broken down into three and four sub-categories.

Focus groups were designed by pulling a random sample of fifty adult student names from the central registrar. From this list, students were called and asked to participate and given a choice of three separate meeting times. Groups were facilitated by both researchers, with one note-taking and the other guiding the discussion. The facilitator gave a brief introduction to the session, then posed very general questions about the experience of being on campus, but did not participate in the discussion or probe beyond what the respondents choose to say. The sessions were also recorded on audiotape, after permission was gained from each group. Transcripts and notes were carefully examined and issues were pulled from the information.

Discussion:

The three methods of data collection (fixed choice questions, open ended comments, and focus groups) all yielded useful but different results. The fixed choice questions from the survey allowed for an overview of satisfaction that students were now experiencing and the possible use of a range of services. The following is a sample of the results, in percentages, of fixed choice questions:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Sometimes	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I have needed advice, information and/or support in my adjustment to student life.	8	27	26	28	11
Making friends on campus is of little concern to me.	4	21	28	13	3
Most of the time, I feel lonely and isolated on this campus.	2	6	30	34	28
I feel comfortable discussing matters of personal interest with a professor	4	11	32	33	20
Going to university is the most satisfying thing I could do at this point in my life.	19	34	26	18	3

In general, a large percentage of respondents responded positively for each question, giving the sense of a large degree of satisfaction by many students on campus. This was encouraging information, and students who did indicate lack of satisfaction or loneliness and isolation may be identified by selecting out these respondents and running their demographic characteristics. Support programs can then be targeted to the faculties, age group and gender so indicated.

Questions about type of programs also yielded important information. Programs with a social focus, such as brown bag lunches, a drop-in centre, and social activities for families showed very low interest. Any programs however that focused on skill development, such as writing term papers, learning styles workshops, and developing critical thinking skills, showed a great deal of interest. This information is consistent with other findings that adult students require less social integration (Bean and Metzner 1985) and are very motivated to do well (Ross 1989).

Open ended comments actually indicated a less positive picture. Categories that emerged from these comments were:

Academic Issues
- systemic barriers
- requirements for transitional support
- relationships with professors

Awareness of and Satisfaction with Existing Services

Experience of being a Mature Student and General Satisfaction

Juggling Roles

Social Issues
- systemic barriers
- requirements for transitional support
- requests to meet with peers
- relationships with traditional age students

It is likely that those students with concerns were more motivated to make comments, and this is reflected in the negative orientation of the responses. One clear indication was that for those students who feel the need to meet with students of their own age group, the need is quite great. Awareness of existing services was also quite low, indicating an improvement in the information flow to students about services on campus is required.

Focus groups added further to our sense of the intensity of concern that adult students feel when they do experience difficulties. A recurring theme in the focus groups was what we labelled 'dangerous determination'; a sense by the student that this was their last chance or that the sacrifices they were making in terms of time and money made the thought of failure an overwhelming one. We also noted that students in a transition in their life, ie. a career change, change in marital status or life roles, were more likely to feel the need for a social life on campus than those who were only making a slight detour in their life to come to university. Students from faculties were the workload was particularly heavy, such as Engineering and Management, felt that they connected with others students on course related matters and did not need other support.

Conclusion:

Each method of data collection offered information that would have been difficult to otherwise ascertain. The fixed choice questions in the survey provided an excellent overview of many issues and will allow us to target both topics and sub-groups in the population. The open ended questions allowed issues that students felt strongly about to surface. This will allow us to address concerns that may not have surfaced otherwise. Finally, the focus groups allowed for in-depth discussion of the experience of students on this campus and provided an understanding of the underlying factors that lead to some of the issues and concerns earlier identified. This base-line information helps us understand the pattern of fixed choice responses.

A major difficulty in any research endeavor that uses sample data is attempting to generalize to the population as a whole. While both the survey sample and the focus group sample were randomly drawn, the participation rate for both was approximately 50%. There is likely to be a respondent bias for both methods, and it may be difficult to undercover this and make adjustments. Demographic characteristics of the survey respondents were compared to population data where possible and, with the exception of gender, were deemed to be similar enough for generalization. Even in the case of respondent bias, it may be valuable to pilot some programs based on this information, as the respondent bias may represent those students with greatest concern and problems. It is clear that not all returning or multiple role learners on campus require assistance. Our objective was to determine what difficulties did exist, which students were experiencing these difficulties and what programs would be of value in reducing the impact of these difficulties. Based on this information, recommendations for services to adult students will be made. Pilot projects will be designed, implemented and evaluated after a fixed time frame. Evaluation information will be considered in light of details from this research and, if necessary, more focus group research will be done to augment this information. These services will adjusted accordingly and run again. This process will continue as services for adult students are developed on the campus in question.

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Emancipation Through the Acquisition of Basic Skills: A Curriculum-Planning Process for Marginalized Adults

by

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Art Deane, and Sue Scott

Abstract: This paper discusses the development of a curriculum planning-process that can be employed with marginalized adult-learners. The model incorporates a range of basic "skills" identified by marginalized adults in Alberta with a participatory inquiry process. The product is a context-sensitive curriculum that is transformative in nature.

Resumé: Ce mémoire traite de l' élaboration d' un processus de planification d' un programme d' études qui peut être utilisé avec des étudiants adultes marginaux. Le modèle comprend un répertoire de compétencies de base identifiées avec l'aide d'adultes marginaux de l' Alberta. Le résultat de ces processus est la création d' un plan d' études de caractère transformateur sensible à la réalité des participants.

Development Process

This paper outlines a program-planning process that integrates a research-based basic-skills identification model with a participatory inquiry process for the development of curriculae. The resulting model involves marginalized adult-learners in the development of a curriculum that addressses their immediate needs—the acquisition of basic skills that will allow them to function in existing socio-economic conditions. The curriculum planning-process, however, is one of *mutual* inquiry. Consequently, individuals find themselves in a context where they must reflect upon the assumptions, presuppositions, and beliefs that determine their desires. Through dialogue and reflection, the "meaning perspectives" of learners are transformed.[1]

The development of the proposed model was prompted by a request for an adult basic-education program from an adult learning centre involved in prison education. The development process brought together three faculty members with differing, yet related, interests: Art Deane (adult basic skills), David Collett ("learning how to learn"), Sue M. Scott (personal and social transformation). Three graduate students with an interest in the education of marginalized adults—Derek Briton, Donna Cooney, and Cora Voyageur[2]—also joined the project planning-team. The project was attractive to the project planning-team for two reasons. Firstly, the prison context demanded a basic education program that was relevant to inmates. Program content, therefore, had to reflect the needs of inmates. The program planning-team was fairly confident that a catalogue of adult basic-skills based on several years of research with marginalized adults in Alberta could provide such content for the program.[3]..Secondly, The Mission Statement of Corrections Canada supports the concept of transformative forms of education. This provided the ideal opportunity to develop a pedagogical model with practical and transformative possibilities. While the resulting model would be suitable for the prison context, it is also suitable for marginalized adults in other contexts, too. The majority of inmates, after all, have much in common with other marginalized adults.

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[1] A "meaning perspective," according to Mezirow (1991) is " the structure of assumptions within which one's past experience assimilates and transforms new experience" (p. 42).

[2] While Cora was unable to contribute to the actual writing of this paper, we would like to acknowledge her participation and contributions to the development of the model herein described.

The Adult Basic Skills Identification Model

In mid-1981, a series of meetings between the Adult Basic Education (ABE) Steering Committee (representing five provincial vocational centers), Alberta Advanced Education and Manpower, and the Department of Industrial and Vocational Education of the University of Alberta were held.[4] The purpose of these meetings was to discuss methods that could be used to identify and analyze those competencies needed by adults to function effectively in Alberta society. More specifically, the intention was to construct and verify a basic source document for future research and for use in curriculum development and improvement of the ABE upgrading programs and courses offered at the various Alberta Vocational and Community Centers throughout the province.[5]

The project followed a series of steps from the development of an initial profile to extensive group work by instructional and research staff to develop a catalogue of skills. A significant amount of curriculum development in provincial vocational centers based on the identified skills followed. It is significant to note that during the first two years of the analysis phases of the project, the terminology shifted from a focus on competency to adult basic skills. This change in focus is important because it marked a change in the fundamental philosophy of the project. Marginalized adults identified themselves as lacking in certain "skills" that were clearly determined by their socio-economic context. The *context-dependency* of these skills distinguishes them from context-independent competencies. Further research followed and a revised second draft of the profile was subjected to an in-depth verification on a larger provincial basis, so as to include responses from other geographic sectors of the province and significant components of Alberta society which were not included in the initial research. The "Profile of Adult Basic Skills" was further investigated and variables such as occupation, education levels, and language/ethnic/cultural influences which might affect the importance of the basic skills were investigated. As a result, a "Catalogue of Adult Basic Skills" that includes "A Profile of Adult Basic Skills" and "A Model of the Interrelationships of Adult Basic Skills Within a Total Skill Context" was developed.

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[3] Collett, Deane, Kendal, & Brooks (1983).

[4] The names of some of these bodies have since changed.

[5] Portions of this section were presented at AERC in 1988.

Transformative Education

Basic skills must be learned through a process that is relevant to the learner's social context. This allows adults to take control of their own learning. Freedom to act, think, and feel in different ways comes not only when one learns to read and write but when the process of learning enables one to be self-assured and confident thereby allowing adults to look critically at the structures of the society which have marginalized them. Hence, the process of transformative education is an important ingredient in adult basic education.

Dominant cultural standards have always represented the marginalized as populations that are somehow inadequate or lacking. Believing these messages, marginalized people often adopt social roles, cultural language codes, philosophies, cognitive or intelligence styles as well as self concepts which are not their own. Mezirow (1991) calls the various perspectives that one holds about his/her self, meaning perspectives. When a meaning perspective shifts or changes in a person it often indicates there is a worldview or perspective transformation. "...The term meaning perspective...refers to the structure of assumptions within which one's past experience assimilates and transforms new experience" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 42). When that structure is disrupted and reorganized, transformation is possible.

The participatory planning process seems to trigger a transformative learning process in the individual. The process of taking control of one's learning process is the beginning of the alteration in one's meaning perspectives. In dialogue with a group of learners, it is possible for marginalized adults to discover what they truly believe is in their self-interest. It is possible to distinguish between what they think society wants them to learn and what they, in fact, know already. It is possible to uncover the assumptions, beliefs, and attitudes through which they have interpreted the world to this point. Often this "opening up" is a painful process of showing vulnerability as well as revealing the hurts and wounds of the past. A grieving process seems to precede a transformation of reality (Boyd and Myers, 1988). Acknowledging the psycho-social aspects of a person in small group dynamics can facilitate the disorientation (Mezirow, 1991) or psychic dilemma (Boyd, 1990) that is necessary before healing and alteration of meaning perspectives are possible.

The Participatory Process of Inquiry

Participatory research is a method of working with an oppressed or marginalized group or community which combines *investigation, education* and *action* in a collective endeavor whereby the researcher works, as Freire (1968) states, *with* not *for* the group (Maguire, 1987). Participatory research begins with an alternative paradigm worldview which suggests that all forms of inquiry (technical, interpretive, critical) are potentially useful but that the purpose of knowledge creation is transformation rather than control or adaptation; it is concerned with what is possible not what is. As one example of such an alternative approach, "participatory research places human self-determination, emancipation, and personal and social transformation as the central goals of social science research" (Maguire, 1987, p. 28).

Important assumptions which guide the participatory educational researcher are: (a) knowledge is power in our information-oriented society but "ordinary people" have often been excluded from knowledge creation, (b) both researcher and researched contribute, learn and become transformed in the joint process and, (c) people are capable of growth, change and creation.

Strengths and Limitations

The criticisms of any competency-based approach are clearly articulated by Collins (1983). Such approaches may offer limited opportunities for reflection, mat be deficient in terms of orientation, and social dynamics may remain unaccounted for. A realistic danger is that "models" are often de-contextualized, generalized and then imposed in unintended situations.

Transformative educational theory, while focusing on social structures, processes and change, is often criticized for neglecting attention to specific skills which are needed to function in society. Additionally, the educational methods needed to encourage transformation are unclear. The reason for this is that learners have to experience the process as it unfolds, since it is guided by the participants' and facilitator's working in concert.

Given that individual competencies are "bound" into a useable entity by situational context (Collins, 1983), an approach which is concerned about context holds merit for this project.

An Alternative Model

Integration of the strengths of the adult basic skills identification model and transformative education is accomplished through participation of the learners in the planning and development process. Participation becomes the guiding philosophy, inquiry process, educational method and intended outcome. Skills are gained within a specific and respected context. With this "bottom-up" approach of joint questioning and decision-making, the learners are more likely to accept the educational endeavour. Adults who are actively involved in the identification of their needs, in the design of their learning, and in the implementation of their own learning plans are more motivated to succeed since they have participated in the process from beginning to end. Through small groups, participants can dialogue about the kind of learning that feels comfortable to them and the way the learning should proceed, and they can confront the obstacles to learning they perceive. It is this process of mutual inquiry and planning that fosters transformation in the learner.

Six stages have been identified which draw on the combined knowledge of the potential learners and other stakeholders through opportunities for action and reflection (praxis). These are as follows:

Situational Analysis

Interviews of various participant groups composed of relevant stakeholders will be used to identify the perceived learning needs of participant groups within the specific community context. For example, the use of steering or partnership committees as well as learner groups is recommended.

Identification of Learning Objectives

Individual and overall learning objectives will be identified with the help of interpretive and communicative interview strategies, allowing program participants to contribute directly to the development process.

Identification of Learning Systems

Drawing upon the findings of the previous two stages, an adult-based learning system, designed in conjunction with the program participants to maximize their potential for psychological, social and intellectual growth, will be developed. The program participants' needs may require an individualized, group or composite learning approach.

Identification of Learning Strategies

Within the parameters of the identified learning system, program participants will help develop a process that will permit them to identify the learning strategies that best promote their learning objectives. If formal credential equivalency is relevant in the particular context, this will also be addressed in conjunction with the participants during this phase.

Implementation

Program participants who have been actively involved in the planning of the program will now be given the opportunity to actively participate in the implementation of the program, allowing them to compare actual with intended outcomes.

Evaluation

Program evaluation criteria also identified in conjunction with the program participants will respect the views of all stakeholders, allowing the evaluation process to reflect the different worldviews that may exist within the community. Both formative and summative evaluation is to be incorporated.

The participatory basis of this approach empowers people to become curious, enables them to learn skills relevant to their particular situation and challenges the socio-cultural assumption that marginalized adults are incapable of creation and growth. However, the approach implies a more fluid and exploratory process to which many institutional settings are unaccustomed. Traditionally, a more specific plan with pre-determined, objectives, content, methods and measurable outcomes is preferred for predictability. The generalizability of content vs. process is also a contentious issue. Although we might concede that the process could proceed more efficiently based upon experience gained from one situation, we maintain that the curriculum developed within this approach is highly contextual in order to respect the idiosyncratic needs of different groups.

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RoboEd: Re-Imaging Adult Education

by

Derek Briton and Donovan Plumb

Abstract: This paper argues that cultural images created by the mass media can form the basis of a postmodern critical pedagogy that is accessible to those unfamiliar with the discourse and tradition of critical theory. The image of *RoboCop* is used to generate a critique of the technicization of adult education in North America.

Resumé: Cet article étudie comment les 'mass media' crée les images de la culture desquelles on peut former la base pour une pédagogie critique et postmoderne qui est accessible celles qui ne sont pas familiar avec ni la langue ni la tradition de la pensée critique. Les auteurs usent l' image de *RoboCop* pour produire une critique contemporaire de l' education des adultes en Amerique Nord.

Critical Adult Education

In recent years, adult educators working within the critical paradigm, for instance Michael Collins (1987, 1988, 1991) Mechthild Hart (1985, 1990a, 1990b), Collard and Law (1989), Jack Mezirow (1985, 1990), and Michael Welton (1987a, 1987b, 1990), have made significant contributions to the field of adult education. Unfortunately, because these contributions are developed within a realm of discourse peculiar to the critical theory tradition, they often remain inaccessible to those adult educators outside the critical community. If forms of critical pedagogy are to inform the practice of adult education, some way of making them accessible to those outside the universe of critical discourse must be found.[1] In this paper, we contend that certain pervasive images created by the mass media have the potential to form the basis of a postmodern critical pedagogy that is readily accessible to those outside of and unfamiliar with the discourse of the critical tradition. The advent of such a "critical postmodernism signals the possibility for not only rethinking the issue of educational reform but also creating a pedagogical discourse that deepens the most radical impulses and social practices of democracy itself" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, p. 187). In support of our position, we will demonstrate how an image that has permeated North American popular culture—*RoboCop*—can be employed to initiate a critical analysis of the dominant pedagogical practices that suffuse adult education in twentieth-century North America.

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[1] Pedagogy, here, refers to those ideas and activities that facilitate and promote the acquisition of *Paidea*—culture, education, and knowledge combined; see M. J. Adler (1982). *The paidea proposal: An educational manifesto.* New York: MacMillan.

Realms of Discourse

A realm of discourse refers to those practices and conventions of a community that make linguistic and extra-linguistic communication possible. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe explain realm of discourse as follows:

> Let us suppose that I am building a wall with another bricklayer. At a certain moment I ask my workmate to pass me a brick and then I add it to the wall. The first act—asking for the brick—is linguistic; the second—adding the brick to the wall—is extralinguistic. Do I exhaust the reality of both acts by drawing the distinction between them in terms of the linguistic/extralinguistic opposition? Evidently not, because, despite their differentiation in those terms, the two actions share something that allows them to be compared, namely the fact that they are both part of a total operation which is the building of the wall. So, then, how could we characterize this totality of which asking for a brick and positioning it are, both partial moments? Obviously, if this totality includes both linguistic and non-linguistic elements, it cannot itself be either linguistic or extralinguistic; it has to be prior to this distinction. This totality, which includes within itself the linguistic and the non-linguistic, is what we call discourse. (Laclau and Mouffe, 1990, p. 100)

Since the context or social space determines the meaning of linguistic and extra-linguistic acts, forms of communication *across* realms of discourse tend to break-down. Adult educators outside the realm of critical discourse have difficulty with the language of the critical tradition because they are unfamiliar with the conventions and practices that give meaning to that language

There are, of course, many realms of discourse, even within the field of adult education. For instance, those adult educators who ground their pedagogy in the liberal arts have a set of practices and conventions in common, as do those who ground their pedagogy in psychology and technology. This is not to suggest these educators cannot communicate to one another. As well as being members of academic communities, they are also members of other communities, for example, neighbourhood communities, religious communities, and ethnic communities. This allows communication in general, but just as the Christian does not understand the traditions and practices of Islam, adult educators well versed in technology or the humanities do not understand the practices and conventions of social theory that inform the critical tradition.

A Regime of Signification.

The development of new technologies, however, has enabled the mass media—particularly the visual media of television and cinema but also the print media—to construct images that permeate all existing social spaces. This new mode of communication, wherein market-driven images seek to eradicate social differences to maximize consumption, is not a realm of discourse but a "regime of signification." This postmodern mode of communication "de-differentiates" society, dissolving the barriers of convention and tradition that differentiated social spaces from one another. While images replace words, their rapid proliferation is such that signifiers soon far outnumber the concepts—"signifieds"—they once represented(Lyotard, 1984, 1988). The result is a fleeting and fragmented world of images that represent not signifieds but other signifiers, making meaningful communication all but impossible. Ironically, while the postmodern regime of signification eradicates differences, it introduces the possibility of a unified critique of its homogenizing and totalizing tendencies. While an incisive critique of capitalism's market-driven, homogenizing tendencies has long existed in critical theory, only now, with the advent of a regime of signification, is this critique readily accessible to adult educators outside the critical tradition.

The Possibility of a Critical Postmodernism

Aronowitz and Giroux (1991) contend that while postmodern pedagogies accept the transition from discursive to figurative modes of communication, this need not commit them to accepting the conditions of contemporary society unquestioningly:

> The "nihilism" of postmodern discourse does not signify its rejection of ethics, politics, and power, only its refusal to accept the givens of public and private morality and the judgments arising from them.... Postmodernism provides a political and pedagogical basis not only for challenging current forms of academic hegemony but also for deconstructing conservative forms of postmodernism in which social life is merely made over to accommodate expanding fields of information in which reality collapses into the proliferation of images. At its best, a critical postmodernism signals the possibility of not only rethinking the issue of educational reform but also creating a pedagogical discourse that deepens the most radical impulses and social practices of democracy itself. (p. 187)

Critical postmodern pedagogies link education to democratic public life, define educators as engaged, sentient agents, and seek to incorporate difference, plurality, and everyday life into the education process. This, of course, is to view "education as a form of cultural politics, a discourse that draws its meaning from the social, cultural and economic context in which it operates" (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1991, p. 187). As such, critical postmodern pedagogies call for a dramatic revaluation of the theories that inform education.

While critical theorists have long understood cultural images "in terms of existing social relations" (Lash, 1990, p. 154), such analyses for the most part, have remained inaccessible to those outside the critical realm of discourse. One critical theorist in particular, Walter Benjamin, points out the radical potential of emergent cultural forms. In observing the modernization of Paris, Benjamin noted that while the homogenization of existing cultural forms—arcades and faubourgs—destroyed the radical potential that lay in the differences of these social spaces, the creation of new cultural forms—cinema and radio—introduced new radical possibilities to Parisiennes (Lash, 1990).

Consequently, the process of de-differentiation is comprised of two moments: one destructive and one creative. Our contention is that while the images of the mass media threaten to erode the critical power of specialized forms of discourse, such as critical theory, they also present a radically new opportunity for a critique of postmodern society. With this in mind, we turn now to perhaps the most powerful of all the visual media—cinema.

RoboEd: A Postmodern Critique.

The image of *RoboCop* is familiar to most North American adults, whether they have seen the *RoboCop* motion pictures or not. Consequently, the figure of that invincible amalgam of titanium and human tissue lies waiting to be evoked in our minds. The meaning of the image is not fixed, however, and it is this ambiguity that allows the image to form the basis of a critique. *Robocop* represents both the promise and peril of technology. The promise of technology, on the one hand, is the effective and efficient control of our world. We revel in *RoboCop*, the machine's, ability to triumph over subversion and enforce the law. The peril of technology, on the other, is the subjugation of human values to technical imperatives. The cold and alien nature of technology is masked by *RoboCop's* human form. The image retains a semblance of humanity, allowing us to vicariously share in *RoboCop*, the machine's, trials and tribulations. But while *RoboCop's* anthropomorphism permits us to experience the triumph of machine over man, it also allows us to sense *RoboCop*, the human's, struggle to transcend the programming that determines his actions.

The ambiguous potential of technology, so powerfully represented in the image of *RoboCop*, is also present in the modern practice of adult education. In the first instance, audiences revel in *RoboCop's* ability to effectively assess **all** situations, identify the most **efficient** means to bring about change, and **unequivocally** evaluate outcomes. In the second, adult educators exult in the ability of modern educational practices to effectively assess adults' needs in **all** situations, identify **efficient** means to bring about "desired" change, and **unequivocally** measure learning outcomes. Lacking a critical perspective, many adult educators fall prey to the allure of technicized forms of education. The technical imperatives of effectiveness, efficiency, and quantifiability determine the worth of education programs. "Good" programs proceed scientifically and objectively, from precisely identified needs, through clearly defined objectives, to readily quantifiable results. The step from *RoboCop* to **RoboEd** is a small one.

Yet, just as performative contradictions impel RoboCop to re-examine his programmed directives, causing him to reflect upon the emotional and moral factors that once influenced his actions, performative contradictions in the modern practice of adult education can lead adult educators to reflect upon the imperatives that inform technicized education. *RoboCop* comes to realize that the source of his power—technology—carries a price: technology allows him to reign over others, but it is technology that rules supreme. *RoboCop's* ultimate battle is the fight to regain his very humanity—control of his will. It is his will to power—to be self-determining—that leads *RoboCop* to risk his very being in order to salvage his humanity.

Critical adult educators contend that education informed by technological imperatives—**RoboEd**—does not serve the interests of humanity. It serves, rather, the interests of impersonalized systems of power that threaten the destruction of all that is human. They ask us to think about who benefits from technicized forms of adult education. They ask us to become reflective, not unlike *RoboCop*, and to resist the technologies that we use to reign over our students.

The image of *RoboCop* reintroduces the question of *values*. It offers us a perspective from which to critique "neutral" educational practices based on effectiveness and efficiency. It allows us to analyze the role of educators as will-less implementers of curriculae—over which they have little or no control—devised to meet the imperatives of the marketplace. It urges us to reject the notion of education as a commodity whose value is determined by autonomous laws of supply and demand. And finally, the image of *RoboCop* compels us to recognize the crucial difference between "means" and "ends" rationality. Now, more than ever, adult educators must be willing to ask what the purpose of adult education should be, rather than how adult education can proceed more effectively and efficiently:

> At a time when the furthermost corner of the globe has been conquered by technology and opened to economic exploitation; when any incident whatever, regardless of where or when it occurs, can be communicated to the rest of the world at any desired speed; when the assassination of a king in France and a symphony concert in Tokyo can be "experienced" simultaneously; when time has ceased to be anything other than velocity, instantaneousness, and simultaneity, and time as history has vanished from the lives of all peoples'; when a boxer is regarded as a nation's great man; when mass meetings attended by millions are looked on as a triumph—then, yes then, through all this turmoil a question still haunts us like a specter: What for?—Whither?—And what then? (Heidegger, 1959, pp. 37-38)

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ON WORKING WITHOUT A NET: PRACTICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL TANGLES IN DEVELOPING ADULT EDUCATORS' CRITICAL THINKING

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In a body of recent work in our field, the development of critical thinking and critical reflection has been proposed by a number of writers as the organizing concept to inform adult education practice (Brookfield, 1987; Marsick, 1987; Garrison, 1991; Mezirow, 1981, 1991), although the tensions between what have been called liberal and socialist interpretations of these ideas have been noted (Griffin, 1988). Despite the enthusiasm with which the aim of critical analysis is proposed, there are considerable barriers to its realization even in such a limited arena of certificate, diploma, masters' and doctoral degree programs in adult education; ironically, the arena one would imagine to be most receptive to this activity. Yet, despite (or perhaps because of) the inspirational rhetoric of much writing on the need to develop critical thinking, the causes and manifestations of adult educators' resistance to critical reflection on practice and to critical analysis of espoused theory and conventional wisdom, has not been fully understood. The purpose of this paper is to address the kinds of barriers professors face in encouraging critical thinking in adult education graduate students who are, for the most part, apathetic or hostile to this process and who complain of being exposed by professors and lecturers to a 'party line' on critical analysis without receiving any clear guidance exactly how such analysis can be undertaken.

The first barrier is the reverence students feel for what they define as 'expert' knowledge enshrined in academic publications, or at least in the public domain of the published, printed word. Most students on academic courses of study in adult education regard themselves as practitioners rather than as theorists or academic thinkers. Leaving aside the thorny question of whether it is possible to practice without engaging in a form of informal theorizing, it is probably the case that graduate students' primary self-image is of themselves as doers, as facilitators, as people who make learning and education happen, not of themselves as researchers or as producers of original knowledge. When asked to undertake critical analysis of the ideas about adult learning and education propounded by, for example, Lindeman, Mansbridge, Coady, Horton, Freire or Knowles', students will often say that to do so smacks of impertinence. More particularly, they will report that their own experience as practitioners is so limited that it gives them no starting point from which to build an academic critique of major figures in the field. "How can I possibly critique this writer", they will ask, "when all I've done is run a volunteer adult literacy program in Gateshead, Harlem, Darwin or Montreal?" There is a kind of steamrollering effect in which the status of 'theorist' or 'major figure' in students' eyes flattens these practitioners' fledgling critical antennae. This is perhaps most evident when the figures concerned are undeniably heroic (as is often the case with, say, Horton or Freire), but it is also evident when students are faced with a piece of work in which the bibliographic scholarship is seen as impressive. For example, when faced with analyses of adult learning in which the volume and breadth of references cited is seen as particularly impressive students will say 'how can I, with my limited experience, begin to contradict or criticise all the studies and research documented in here?'. There is a feeling on students' part of impostorship, of their engaging in critical analysis as being equivalent to a rather unconvincing form of role-taking, even play acting. The assumption is that sooner or later any critique they produce will be revealed to be the product of an unqualified and unfit mind. Overall, my experience has confirmed most strongly Usher's (1989, P. 88) observation that "educational practitioners when they become students tend to be overawed; they find it difficult to question, given the status of formal theory as codified knowledge and the attached aura of 'academic' legitimacy".

The second problem students face in undertaking critical analysis is that it is viewed as too remote and rarified an abstract intellectual process. The perceived remoteness of this form of thinking is not helped by the fact that much adult educational writing on the importance of critical analysis is informed by the Frankfurt school of critical social theory (Griffin, 1989; Collard and Law, 1991), particularly the work of Habermas (Mezirow, 1981, 1985), or by the ideas of the Italian political philosopher Antonio Gramsci (Morgan, 1987; Armstrong, 1988). Works on critical social science (Fay, 1987), critical hermeneutics (Thompson, 1981) or critical pedagogy (Livingstone, 1987) are sophisticated theoretical analyses requiring a familiarity with neo-Marxism and phenomenology. To many adult education practitioners who are temporarily in the role of graduate students such works are, at best, 'too advanced for the likes of us' and, at worst, smack of subversion, obscurantism or pretension. Referring to his efforts to engage teachers in critical reflection Smyth (1986) notes that he interprets "any past reticence among teachers toward being reflective and analytic as signs of the complexity of the process and the absence of clearly articulated paradigms and frameworks within which to undertake the task" (p. 68). Such an observation rings equally true within university academic adult education.

Thirdly, many of the writers and thinkers most commonly associated with a 'critical' perspective in adult education tend to interpret their practice as a form of left of center social and political action. An important exception to this is Mezirow, whose concern with such action is made explicit but who has extended the analysis of critical reflection as a form of learning into the realm of personal relationships and the workplace (Mezirow, 1991). The largest portion of documented work on what most would call critical adult education tends to be located in case study descriptions of liberatory and emancipatory education within a social action framework (Thompson, 1980; Lovett et. al. 1983; Lovett, 1988; Youngman, 1986; Kirkwood and Kirkwood, 1989; Shor, 1987). Such work draws on the ideas of Horton and Freire (1991), both of whom are regarded as seminal figures in the critical adult education movement. Adult education students whose own backgrounds as practitioners seem to have no connection with community organizing or political action - such as those who run continuing education programs, who are staff developers in hospitals or who are training managers for corporations - can easily dismiss this body of work as 'outside our experience', 'interesting, but not for us' or 'irrelevant to our daily concerns'. Also, particularly in the United States, the contemporary abundance of febrile denunciations of liberalism means that those advocating critical forms of practice can easily be regarded, at worst, as communist subversives or, at best, as fellow travellers. Those educators for whom even liberalism represents a dangerous, left wing ideology, are likely to experience many difficulties in trying to engage seriously with books like Pedagogy of the Oppressed or We Make the Road By Walking.

Fourthly, there is the obvious problem that practitioners turned graduate students are often out of the habit of academic writing, or perhaps have never acquired this habit in the first place. To be asked to 'undertake a critical analysis' of a piece of theoretical literature, a philosophical elaboration, or a research study without clear, accessible examples of how this looks, or without some kind of detailed organizing framework, is extremely difficult for those whose professional writing has, for many years, consisted of program evaluations, progress reports or curricular proposals. Academic assignments which require precis, summary or exposition of central ideas are difficult enough for many practitioners when they return to graduate study. To ask for a critical analysis of academic adult education literature - with no clearer instructions than exhortations to engage in critique - is to induce in these students a feeling of helplessness or paralysis. This is a problem felt particularly keenly where the examples of critical analysis available to students are written at a level of some sophistication. Some of the most frequently cited examples of critical analysis in adult education are distinguished by their theoretical sophistication and literary panache (the work of Collins, Mezirow, Hart, Welton, Usher, Griffin comes to mind). A typical reaction of students to reading these pieces is for them to conclude that critical analysis is only possible if one already posseses a literary flourish and a broad familiarity with Frankfurt School and post-modernist literature. Following such an immediate reaction comes the decision that 'academic study is not really for me' or the development of a cynical dismissal of designer radicals and armchair socialists. This is often coupled with a corresponding pride in the fact that 'in our world we have to deal with reality, we can't hide behind fancy theories or the protection of tenure'.

Conditions for Humanising the Critical Tradition: A Case of Naive Eclecticism ?

In trying to respond to the difficulties outlined above, I realize that I have deliberately been trying to fuse elements of two traditions - the humanistic and critical - which some would claim are epistemologically incompatible. Is it possible to blend elements of these two traditions in an informed approach to adult educational practice, avoiding the dangers of bad or naive eclecticism (Bright, 1989; Youngman, 1986) ? Six conditions can be specified as possible indicators that one is evincing a sophisticated, rather than a naive, eclecticism:-

(1) The educator makes full and consistent disclosure of her intentions so that learners possess as full knowledge as possible of these before deciding to work purposefully with that same educator. In publicity materials for a program event, in any statements regarding the evaluation of learning, in interviewing or other application procedures (when appropriate), at the first meeting, and at regular occasions across the lifespan of an educational program educators must make an honest attempt to declare all their biases, criteria, expectations and agendas.

(2) The educator must model the kind of critical reflection she is seeking to encourage in participants. This condition holds that those involved in this process, as learners or teachers, must always be open to rethinking the accuracy of their own commitments, and of the assumptions upon which those commitments are founded. I personally might hope, fervently, that a critical conversation would result in someone becoming skeptical of right wing policies, but I would be wrong to rely on such a transformation as being the sole indicator of whether or not someone had engaged, in good faith, in a critical scrutiny of his or her own political assumptions. For me to decree that critical thinking always leads to a predefined ideological commitment (more specifically, to the learner's sharing the teacher's politics) would be the pedagogic equivalent of papal infallibility.

(3) The educator must avoid scapegoating the uncommitted and create an opportunity for dissenting perspectives. In learning groups in which the educator has taken pains to meet condition #(1) regarding full disclosure, particpants may well evolve a form of group think which excludes what they see as politically incorrect views. In such groups the educator should make it clear that while such views strongly diverge from her own, participants will not be punished for their expression. When such views are expressed the educator should make a special effort to ensure that they are heard, taken seriously, and not rejected out of hand.

(4) The educator should attend to - and hurt with - the ethical tensions and dilemmas inherent in critical practice. Educators can make sure that formal academic analyses of critical thinking, and of the practices which flow from such analyses, are scrutinized for the extent to which ethical dilemmas are recognized. They can make a concerted effort to make learners aware of the risks of critical thinking and to explore ways in which learners can be helped to develop a tactical shrewdness regarding how such risks can be minimized without destroying completely the desire to engage in critical thinking directed toward social change.

(5) The educator should take account of the emotional dimensions and rhythms of critical reflection and help learners to make these explicit. Learning critical reflection is often spoken of as a journey into ambiguity and uncertainty characterised by feelings of impostorship, lost innocence and incremental fluctuation. Knowing how much those in the middle of a critically reflective episode value.the emotional sustenance a community of peers can provide, makes professors of adult education aware of the need to encourage adult educators to compare their private journeys as critically reflective learners. What were conceived as idiosyncratic incremental fluctuations, morale sapping defeats suffered in isolation, and context-specific barriers, come to be seen as shared experiences.

(6) The educator should teach critical analysis in terms learners find accessible. When specialized conceptual terminology is used in writing about critical thinking and critical practice teachers can ask whether this use can be justified in terms of promoting clarity and understanding, or whether it is an example of jargon, of coded, scriptural signalling. Students can also be asked to do something as simple as checking that every time a new specialist term is introduced it is accompanied by a definition of what it embraces. When such generalised definitions are offered, students can check whether or not they can find in their own experiences as critical learners specific examples or illustrations of the processes these definitions represent.

(For bibliographic references please contact the author)

ANALYSE D'UN LOGICIEL AXÉ SUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE LA MÉTACOGNITION À LA LUMIÈRE DES NIVEAUX D'APPRENTISSAGE DE BATESON

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Résumé - Le but de la présente étude est d'analyser, à la lumière des niveaux d'apprentissage de Bateson, les principales stratégies ainsi que les principales catégories de connaissances qui sont proposées dans le logiciel «Je découvre le Québec».

Abstract - The purpose of the present study is to analyze, in the light of Bateson's different levels of learning, the main educational strategies as well as the main knowledge categories that are set forward in «Je découvre le Québec», an application program.

En tant que domaine de recherche dans le champ de l'apprentissage de l'adulte, la métacognition semble permettre aux chercheurs de pénétrer au coeur même du processus de changement se rapportant aux divers niveaux d'intégration des savoirs (Flavell, 1979; Maudsley, 1979; Lefebvre-Pinard, 1980). La prise de conscience et le contrôle de l'action qui en résultent au cours de la démarche d'apprentissage d'un adulte amènent parfois cet apprenant à des remises en question de ses propres habitudes de penser et façons d'apprendre (Danis et Tremblay, 1984; Danis, 1988). Les théories actuelles se rapportant à l'apprentissage définissent encore d'une façon trop limitée le processus de changement lié à l'acte d'apprendre. Plusieurs n'accentuent souvent que les changements produits à court terme, en fonction de tâches ponctuelles (Bredo, 1989).

Dans ce contexte, la théorie batesonnienne de l'apprentissage, centrée sur les processus et les interactions plutôt que sur la résolution de problèmes à la base des théories cognitives actuelles (Bredo, 1989), peut offrir un cadre plus adéquat pour l'étude de l'intégration des savoirs chez un individu ou chez un groupe d'individus. L'approche de Bateson, s'inspirant à la fois de la théorie de l'information, de la cybernétique et de la théorie des types logiques de Russell (Bredo, 1989; Brouillet, 1989), aborde l'apprentissage sous l'angle de changements d'habitudes ou de croyances en fonction de différents niveaux du contexte de l'individu apprenant (Bredo, 1989). On retrouve ainsi différents types d'apprentissage hiérarchisés qui caractérisent la nature des changements provoqués par différents apprentissages (Brouillet, 1989).

Le passage d'un niveau d'apprentissage à un autre peut être favorisé chez l'adulte par l'interaction qui s'établit, en situation formelle d'enseignement, entre l'apprenant et le formateur (Brouillet, 1989). Au cours de la dernière décennie, l'interaction formateur-apprenant est devenue de plus en plus médiatisée. En effet, l'arrivée des médias qualifiés d'interactifs, tel l'ordinateur, rend possible une communication qui présente plusieurs similitudes avec la communication éducative traditionnelle (Deaudelin, 1991). Dans ce contexte, de nombreux logiciels ont été mis sur le marché. Si les premières générations de ces produits éducatifs visaient davantage des apprentissages de type associatif au moyen d'exercices répétés, plusieurs nouveaux logiciels se veulent plutôt axés sur des apprentissages et changements plus complexes. Plusieurs de ces nouveaux logiciels visent maintenant le développement d'habiletés métacognitives comme telles. Par exemple, «Je découvre le Québec» est un de ces logiciels qui cherchent à intégrer des objectifs d'apprentissage métacognitifs, tout en tenant compte de différents niveaux de savoir.

But de la présente étude

Il convient ici de s'interroger sur la nature des interventions qui caractérisent ce type particulier de logiciels axés sur le développement d'habiletés métacognitives et, conséquemment, axés sur la génération de changements complexes chez l'apprenant (Noël, 1991). Le but de la présente étude est donc d'analyser les principales stratégies ainsi que les principales catégories de connaissances qui sont proposées dans un de ces logiciels, «Je découvre le Québec», à la lumière des niveaux d'apprentissage de Bateson.

Les niveaux d'apprentissage de Bateson

Pour Bateson, le processus d'apprentissage s'opère dans un cadre relationnel et repose sur un changement qui peut être tantôt progressif, tantôt radical. L'apprentissage devient ainsi un message qui, dans un contexte donné, pourra, par répétition, par essai-erreur ou par calibrage, entraîner l'acquisition ou le changement de différentes habitudes. Ces dernières, souvent à la racine même de nos comportements mentaux et relationnels, sont fondées sur les prémisses qui orientent nos actions et nos relations (Brouillet, 1989).

Les notions de forme et de processus sont accentuées par Bateson lorsqu'il décrit ce que représente le processus d'apprentissage. Les principales formes d'apprentissage sont ici l'essai-erreur et le calibrage. La manière de procéder par essai-erreur est nommée rétroaction; elle consiste à s'ajuster par autocorrection à l'intérieur même de l'acte d'apprendre. Le calibrage, lui, ne permet pas à l'apprenant de s'améliorer dans le cadre même de sa propre autocorrection; il amène plutôt ce dernier à travailler sur une classe d'actions. Le calibrage correspond à la forme, tandis que la rétroaction correspond au processus. Bateson en vient ainsi à trois principales conclusions: 1) la rétroaction et le calibrage alternent dans une séquence hiérarchique; 2) à chaque zigzag, la sphère de pertinence s'élargit, l'information est plus abstraite et la décision de plus grande portée; 3) les sauts de niveaux engendrent des distorsions et des paradoxes.

C'est dans ce cadre conceptuel qu'il convient de situer les niveaux hiérarchiques d'apprentissage comme tels (Brouillet, 1989). Bateson (1977, p. 266: voir Brouillet, 1989) définit ces niveaux d'apprentissage de la façon suivante:

- l'apprentissage zéro se caractérise par la spécificité de la réponse qui, juste ou fausse, n'est pas susceptible de correction.
- l'apprentissage I correspond à un changement dans la spécificité de la réponse, à travers une correction des erreurs de choix, à l'intérieur d'un ensemble de possibilités.
- l'apprentissage II est un changement dans le processus de l'apprentissage I: soit un changement correcteur dans l'ensemble des possibilités où s'effectue le choix, soit un changement qui se produit dans la façon dont la séquence de l'expérience est ponctuée.
- l'apprentissage III est un changement dans le processus d'apprentissage II: un changement correcteur dans le système des ensembles de possibilités dans lequel s'effectue le choix.
- l'apprentissage IV correspondrait à un changement dans l'apprentissage III. Bateson doute cependant de la possibilité qu'un individu puisse atteindre ce dernier niveau.

Notons que cette approche qui identifie des niveaux précis de changement ne constitue pas pour autant une théorie développementale dans laquelle on retrouverait une évolution graduelle des niveaux les plus bas vers les niveaux les plus élevés. Selon l'approche batesonnienne, les différents niveaux d'apprentissage peuvent plutôt exister simultanément, en parallèle les uns par rapport aux autres (Bredo, 1989).

Logiciels et niveaux de connaissances

Paquette et ses collaborateurs (1992) reconnaissent le potentiel important des systèmes de gestion de bases de données en ce qui a trait à l'acquisition de connaissances complexes et au développement d'habiletés tant métacognitives que cognitives. Dans une approche constructiviste, ils catégorisent les connaissances à transmettre en fonction de trois niveaux distincts: correspondant à un «savoir de surface», on retrouve un premier niveau composé a) de connaissances déclaratives et b) de connaissances procédurales. Correspondant à un «savoir profond», on retrouve un deuxième niveau composé de connaissances structurelles ainsi qu'un troisième niveau composé de métaconnaissances (Paquette *et al.*, 1992). Ces métaconnaissances permettraient de générer ou de transformer les connaissances déclaratives, procédurales ou structurelles et de contrôler le processus d'apprentissage lui-même («apprendre à apprendre») (Paquette *et al.*, 1992).

Conçu par Paquette et ses collaborateurs, le logiciel «Je découvre le Québec» illustre bien le type d'environnements d'apprentissage axés sur l'acquisition de métaconnaissances. Ce logiciel, utilisé aux niveaux du Secondaire I et II, est principalement constitué d'un progiciel d'application se rapportant à une ou à plusieurs bases de connaissances et d'une documentation pédagogique. Pour les fins de la présente étude, l'analyse portera sur le contenu des pages-écran proposées à l'apprenant et sur celui des fiches d'activités accompagnant le logiciel.

Dans le progiciel «Je découvre le Québec», la page-écran type donne accès, au moyen d'icônes, à:

i) des catégories d'informations, telles: activités culturelles (icône-guitare), population (icône-groupe d'individus);
ii) des opérations, telles: recherche (icône-loupe), tri (icône-main qui classe) et élaboration d'histogrammes (icône-histogramme);
iii) des niveaux de représentation, tels: la région en détail ou la province. Lors d'une opération donnée, certains messages s'affichent, tels, par exemple, «Voilà j'ai terminé! Vous pouvez commencer la recherche», ou encore, «Je n'ai rien trouvé».

Le contenu des fiches d'activités qui accompagnent le logiciel est présenté sous forme de questions qui amènent l'usager:

- à utiliser de façon simple certains fonctions (par exemple, «clique sur l'icône "région" et repère les villes»),
- à identifier quelle fonction est la plus pertinente (par exemple, «recherche» ou «tri»),
- à identifier le ou les critères de recherche ou de tri et à choisir le bon opérateur logique («et» - «ou»),
- à résoudre des problèmes plus complexes où l'usager est invité à réaliser un ensemble de tâches similaires à celles énumérées précédemment.

Analyse du logiciel «Je découvre le Québec» à la lumière des niveaux d'apprentissage de Bateson

Pour les fins de la présente recherche, les principales catégories de connaissances proposées et les principales stratégies utilisées à l'intérieur du logiciel «Je découvre le Québec» ont été situées par rapport aux niveaux d'apprentissage de Bateson.

Des vingt-six activités analysées, vingt concernent des connaissances procédurales, cinq concernent des métaconnaissances essentiellement liées au processus de résolution de problème et l'une est décrite en termes d'objectivation sur les connaissances acquises et sur les méthodes utilisées.

L'apprentissage zéro de Bateson n'offre à l'apprenant qu'une seule possibilité de réponse. Les informations contenues dans la base des données que l'apprenant s'approprie dans le cadre des diverses activités offertes par le logiciel constitueraient, en fait, des apprentissages de niveau zéro. De tels apprentissages se réalisent d'une façon parallèle aux autres types d'apprentissage identifiés.

L'apprentissage I de Bateson est axé sur une analyse des choix possibles à l'intérieur d'un ensemble non modifié de possibilités (Bredo, 1989). Le logiciel «Je découvre le Québec» fournit un nombre important de connaissances procédurales qui correspondent à ce premier niveau. L'apprenant est ici invité à utiliser un ensemble de tâches lui permettant de traiter adéquatement les informations contenues dans la base de données. Ces dernières peuvent être traitées par essais-erreurs. Par exemple, l'apprenant devra se rappeler que la fonction «recherche» sous le caractère «population», en utilisant la relation «plus grand que» lui permettra d'identifier les villes qui sont plus populeuses qu'une ville-cible donnée.

Dans une optique métacognitive, l'apprentissage II permettrait à l'apprenant d'«apprendre à apprendre», tout en modifiant également l'ensemble même des possibilités dont il dispose. Les tâches de résolution de problèmes proposées dans le logiciel sont ici d'un tel niveau de complexité et nécessitent le traitement d'une si grande quantité d'informations, que l'apprenant doit choisir et organiser les connaissances procédurales qu'il a acquises auparavant. L'apprenant, invité, par exemple, à créer un itinéraire touristique complexe, est amené à prendre graduellement conscience de son propre processus d'apprentissage, à «apprendre à apprendre». De telles tâches pourraient entraîner un changement global et heuristique, bref, un saut logique de l'apprentissage I à l'apprentissage II, si l'individu en venait également à modifier, dans le cadre de l'exemple présenté plus haut, sa conception même «d'itinéraire touristique». Mais les tâches du logiciel ne semblent pas favoriser un tel «saut», ni une telle prise de conscience de la part de l'apprenant.

L'apprentissage III, moins clairement défini par Bateson, semble se produire moins fréquemment. Ce type pourrait faire progresser l'apprenant au niveau de son apprentissage II ou, au contraire, entraver ce dernier (Bredo, 1989). Un saut logique du niveau II au niveau III pourrait être provoqué par une expérience particulièrement significative de remise en question ou par une crise importante qui entraînerait chez l'individu un état de chaos, de confusion, voire de paradoxe (Brouillet, 1989). L'environnement informatisé fourni par le logiciel ne semble pas tenir compte d'un type de changement aussi profond chez l'apprenant.

Implications théoriques

Les chercheurs auront à se pencher plus attentivement sur les apports des environnements d'apprentissage informatisés par rapport à la qualité des apprentissages produits. Les logiciels qui ont été conçus et ceux qui le seront au cours des prochaines années permettront-ils des apprentissages complexes rejoignant même les habitudes de penser et les façons d'apprendre de l'apprenant, ou se limiteront-ils plutôt à la transmission de connaissances déclaratives et procédurales de base, centrées sur de simples résolutions de problèmes?

Il convient de se demander également quelles stratégies mises de l'avant par les concepteurs de logiciels seraient le plus en mesure d'induire chez l'apprenant des apprentissages complexes, des «sauts» qualitatifs produisant des changements profonds dans le processus de développement de l'apprenant.

L'on peut également se demander si les stratégies et les catégories d'apprentissage transmises devraient varier selon que la population-cible est constituée d'adultes apprenants plutôt que d'adolescents.

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Study In Change:
Adult Learning Theory And A Set Of Strategies For Research In Adult Education

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How do adult educators address modern experiences of pervasive, unintended change? This paper, based on ethnographic explorations, focuses on the theme experience of change during research. The paper: describes one set of emerging strategic responses for qualitative research in transition; urges for paradigmatic work towards an *epistemology of changing meaning* for adult learning theory; and suggests a paradigmatic framework for viewing adult educators' orientations.

Comment est-ce que les educateurs pour adultes abordent les experiences modernes des changements qui se font sentir un peu partout et qui sont involontaires? Cet expose, base sur des explorations ethnographiques, se concentre sur le theme du changement qui s'est exerce durant les recherches. L'expose exprime clairement une serie de strategies qui sont apparues pour les recherches qualitatives en transition; il preconise un travail paradigmatique vers *une epistemologie de la signification* du changement pour la theorie d'apprentissage chez les adultes et il suggere un cadre paradigmatique pour envisager les orientations des educateurs pour adultes.

As adult educators, we acknowledge our experience of awe at the pervasiveness of change in modern life (Darkenwald & Merriam 1982; Mezirow, 1990, Verner, 1964). Constant change is the modern context in which we act as "learners" and adult educators. This paper urges the need for consolidation of work in adult education on the theme of experiencing change. Through gathering our discourses and pursuing additional exploration we can develop a framework and thereby establish criteria for strategic action.

Towards that end, the theme of this paper is: The experience of change during research processes. Drawn from a study (Butschler, 1990) wherein experience of change raised a series of research concerns, the paper offers adult educators a characterization of such research concerns and strategic responses to them.

The study began as ethnographic explorations with members of a rural Saskatchewan theatre group creating a play about the community's history. It was rooted in qualitative methodology (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) of which Glaser's and Strauss' *grounded theory* (1967) is a historical cornerstone.

Ethnographic methods relied upon included participant observation and interviews with the seventeen theatre group members creating and presenting the play. A multidisciplinary literature search of adult education, social theory, methodology, and theatre was shaped by analysis of data. Focus on recording what participants learned about theatre was recast through research process into a focus on a framework with meaning, experience of change, and learning as central concepts.

Adult education literature explored did not contemplate issues of changing meaning throughout a study. Thus, how to make sense and keep track of a wide variety of experiences of change became the first and most pressing of research concerns. In response to this research concern the researcher thought in terms of at least three kinds of changes occurring during this study: 1)focus of new literature emerging during the research (including methodology); 2)experiences of participants; and 3)the researcher's views emerging from new familiarity with changing literature and with field experiences.

This paper outlines key concerns associated with the three kinds of change described and the researcher's strategic responses. To afford such a stream-lined accounting the thesis (Butschler, 1990) has acted as a "data pool" for this paper. In contrast, the thesis document was carefully crafted to reflect the inductive, "messy" process of research.

Changes In Focus Of Literatures: Concerns

Excitement with new exploration in so many disciplines brings with it the competing claims and inconsistencies of works in progress. Literatures are only beginning to address the methodological implications of and propose strategies to respond to experience of change in research (Tesch, 1990). Concerns in this study included both changing focus in literatures offering: a)theory content - social theory and adult learning theory and b)methodology, theory guiding research process.

In the literature extant when the study started, descriptions of data analysis process were hazy. After data analysis had begun, works emerged with competing claims of authority. The literatures were not at a stage to offer assistance with: a)how to integrate extant theories with theory generating from analysis of data; b)ensuing implications for epistemology in methodology: - using extant theory as a basis for research design, yet generating theory bringing epistemological shift; and c)a process for exploring various forms of presentation and consideration of how this process might play a role in data analysis.

Changing Experiences Of Researcher: Concerns

Not only was the researcher concerned with making sense of a wide range of changes, a concern arose from being a researcher within adult education. The researcher experienced transition in our literature, both enriched and made more complex by a trend towards multidisciplinary work. A major concern was finding a framework sufficiently common to adult educators to locate the research. This concern surfaced anew in the final stages of writing -- finding means to express the study to an adult education audience "which" is not homogeneous and produces a changing basis for critique.

Change Experiences Of Participants: Concerns

Participants expressed experiencing tremendous transition. Searching for means to understand their experiences of change was of uppermost concern. Making sense of their social process creating, maintaining and changing individuals' meanings about group, community, and theatre, then relating this to learning, became a central focus. Of particular concern were participants': a)sudden shifts in direction during meetings and from one meeting to the next; b)willingness to try "new activities" on some occasions and resisting on others; c)apparent ease with reflecting on some occasions and discomfort on others; and d)initially diverse vantage points, combined with emerging, commonly and tacitly held assumptions.

Strategic Responses

In some instances no strategy emerged other than giving expression to a concern. Strategic responses which did emerge in the study do not directly correlate with the concerns as grouped. Concerns generated more than one strategy; strategies responded to more than one concern. The description does follow a loose chronology starting with responses to most pressing concerns.

Framing Research Experience Of Pervasive Change: Strategic Responses

When the researcher's experience of change became pervasive and pressing, Kuhn's work on *paradigms* (1970) provided a powerful conceptual tool to make sense of these experiences. Thus the researcher's struggle to see *the literature* as homogeneous and to find one authoritative piece as a grid for data analysis was transformed. The concept of *paradigmatic transition*, with theory generative research working towards a paradigm, offered temporary anchor. Focus was then turned to consider questions and strategies about being in a state of paradigmatic transition.

Methodology, Social and Adult Learning Theories In Transition: Strategic Responses

The researcher developed a series of strategic responses to cope with changing extant social theories and methodology during the study. These responses were intertwined with efforts to adequately explicate data and to represent all of this process.

1) Literatures Review: In response to changing literature and crossing disciplinary lines, the researcher sought out historical overviews (Merriam, 1988). These affirmed transition, and acted as tentative guide. When no overviews were accessible, they were roughed out. Work on these overviews formed part of the literatures review in the thesis documenting the study. In searching for a cohesive framework, the researcher considered and compared each theory to determine whether they: a)Contained the same elements, similarly conceptualized, b)Had consistent epistemological bases and; c)Offered adequate explication for data analysis. This work afforded insight into both conflicts and gaps in theory within and among various disciplines.

2) Synthesizing Extant Theory With Theory Generating: A *Theory Trail* was developed from the literatures review. The *Theory Trail* identifies elements in seven extant theories which provided a basis for research design and which offered partial explication in data analysis. A "Limitation" section indicates where each theory's focus and epistemology varied from that emerging in the study.

A *Set Of Working Assumptions* were constructed from the literatures review and the *Theory Trail*. The aim was to integrate extant theory (methodology, social and adult learning theory) with theory generated from data analysis. The *Assumptions* propose key paradigmatic elements in the form of processual definitions.

These *Assumptions* begin with the premise that we are creatures of meaning and creativity (Lindeman, 1928; O'Dea, 1966). Locating meaning at the centre of social theory, "social construction" is relied on (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) to consider social dynamics concerning individuals' meaning: social creation, maintenance, and loss of meaning; social response to creation, maintenance, and loss of meaning. In recent years adult educators have resurrected and are creating a body of literature in which meaning is the epistemological starting point (Jarvis, 1987; Mezirow, 1990). However, during the researcher's literatures review two crucial concerns arose.

First, our emerging literature contained epistemological inconsistencies in uses of concepts such as "power", "social structure", and "culture" (Wolcott, 1985). Second, adult educators' desire to facilitate change seemed to colour descriptions of change affecting individuals. The concept retained a prescriptive quality, that is, change is experienced as always meaningful and "good". Yet this contrasted with adult educators' frequent, prefatorial statements expressing concern with change as pervasive in modern life.

In response to the first concern, the *Assumptions* work towards integrating concepts such as culture, social structure, and power with epistemological consistency and with a focus on meaning: *Cultural-meaning* - Meaning which members of a group come to have a sense of holding in common in some degree and which shapes their physical, emotional, and intellectual focus in their ongoing interactions. *Structure* is contemplated as a social anchor of meaning. Making sense of *power* in a framework with meaning at the centre, *experience of power* is considered in relation to meaning and meaninglessness in light of change.

This brings us to the second concern, about experience of change. The *Working Assumptions* suggest that we may hold in common how we experience change. Yet individuals' experience of change is usually focused on content of change. How we experience change and our response to experiencing change tends to be implicit.

The study draws attention to the need for cohesion in our work on an *epistemology of meaning change* for adult learning theory. A series of provisional definitions are offered including: *Change* - A word we use at the moment of awareness and thereafter when we recognize "something" as moving in relation to ourselves. We may experience moving away from or towards meaning (*Tension in Certainty*). Assuming that our experience of modern life is one of pervasive change, we are more likely to experience change as moving away from meaning. (The thesis suggests in more detail qualities of our experience of change.)

Framed in terms of meaning, *learning* is described as: A process of changing meaning within an individual not confined to abstract thought, but including physical and emotional experiences. The *Working*

Assumptions distinguish among experiences of *meaning change*, learning: If meaning change rattles meaning of individuals' *profound sphere* such as threatening to sever social anchors, no matter how implicit, individuals experience a *breaking point* (O'Dea, 1966). The study thus returns focus on generating theory about change as precipitating either an experience of shifting towards meaning or away from meaning towards meaninglessness (Jarvis, 1987; Barer-Stein, 1987).

To place this in a context of experiencing pervasive change, the study sought theory about "modernity" (Berger, 1977). It begins to consider and recommends more study of five possible shifts in the nature of our social relationships and processes in creating and responding to pervasive change: *abstraction, individuation, futurity, liberation, and secularization* (Berger, 1977).

As a strategy towards paradigm development, this paper proposes a series of interrelated questions to consider work in this area. Thus far, as adult educators we have tended to focus on: How can we produce intended experience of change - learning? This question, particularly for emancipatory purposes, has led to underlying processual questions: Why do we experience change? What makes us experience change? When do we experience change? What do we experience when we experience change -- how do we experience change?

The researcher urges the need to pursue the latter question on epistemology of meaning change: a)how we experience change and how our experience of change acts back on us; and b)implications of experience with pervasiveness of change and other elements suggested by theories of *modernity*. The researcher also recommends that working assumptions from adult learning theory should be considered for possible implications in research as well as teaching methodologies.

3) Data Analysis And Representation: In addition to those strategic responses concerning methodology described, the study also broadened constructions of data analysis. It reconceptualized data analysis process to include a synthesis from four areas of research: a)Resource materials on social theory; b)Methodological resource materials; b)Emerging constructions from data analysis process; and d)Creation of representational form. A strategy for anchoring data analysis process was to search for epistemological consistency using the question: How does this data analysis method account for "experiencing", and "meaning".

A Mobile-framework was constructed from strategies to represent the data with epistemological consistency in terms of emerging theory. It aims to portray individuals' learning processes (rather than structure or behavioural patterns) through mirroring individuals' dynamics in seeking meaning, and through their social process, changing their meanings. This form also attempts to address multiple constructions of participants' changing meanings over time.

Theory generated suggests that one experience participants' held in common was that their initial efforts to learn were prompted by a need to seek out common meaning to be able to act in concert. The *Mobile-framework* presents participants' struggle with experiencing anomic conditions and issues of power related to their learning.

The researcher's strategies used in the *Mobile-framework* included identifying language vulnerable to objectification and reification, then avoiding "offending" words and structures, for example: "the" definite article if it creates object out of concept or experience, and plural personal pronouns if "they" inaccurately imply homogeneity, a monolith. A stop gap lexicon is substituted such as: *emerging-emergent, participants* or *group members*. Heterogeneity among participants is reflected in demographic descriptions and sketches for each.

Participants' changing meanings are expressed through a spectrum of strategies. Evidence of "their" constant negotiation of meaning is profiled through, for instance, descriptions of participants' *breaking points*. Individuals' competing paradigmatic approaches to *tension in certainty* is followed throughout the study. The form is a chronology of emerging-emergent meanings in terms of participants' social anchors.

The Mobile-framework contains five *Act-Plays* to depict distinct shifts over time in participants' focus and activities. Each *Act-Play* presents data analysis and supporting data under six main headings. These are listed with samples of content:

Emerging Context: Meeting dates and a description of those participants present.
Emerging Patterns Of Process: Participants' experiences and activities in terms of "their" breaking points and paradigmatic actions.
Emerging Structure: Participants' emergent meaning expressed in activities more permanently established among them: Subgroups, roles, lexicons.
Emerging Tempo and Rhythm Of Activities: Kinaesthetic description of the experiences.
Emerging Cultural-Meanings: Pivotal elements in group members' sense of meaning experienced as commonly held.
Themes Directly Related To Adult Education As Constructed: Both participants' and researcher's changing meanings linked to adult education.

Framing Experience Of Change In Adult Education: Strategic Responses
1) Paradigmatic Transition: The study argues the need to bring how we experience pervasive change into the foreground of adult educators' constructions. The "Working Set Of Assumptions" were applied to view adult education using the concept of *paradigm* as meaning anchor and *paradigmatic transition* to consider our current experience. This paper suggests developing related research questions: What are our experiences and responses to paradigmatic transition? What strategies do we use to promote paradigm creation.

If *paradigmatic transition* is a meaningful expression of our current experiences with change, two possible strategies are apparent. We may work towards paradigmatic creation, while becoming more comfortable with frequent shifts, or we may choose to explore ways to sustain ourselves in an ongoing state of transition. Focus on work towards epistemological consistency and development of an epistemology of meaning change should offer us some assistance in either case.

2) Heterogeneity Of Adult Educators: Concern with writing for a "single" audience of adult educators was partially addressed through reframing the old dichotomy between theory and practice. Using a phenomenological/ethnographic strategy, the "real" dichotomy became transmuted into *experience of dichotomy*, meaning held by adult educators.

Thus the study's reflections on implications and future directions address adult educators with three differing but overlapping orientations: a) *Paradigm-Interpreters,* those focused on making explicit paradigmatic actions of adult educators; b) *Theory Content Specialists,* those concerned with making explicit a specific theory's content, and c) *Practitioners*, those concerned with specifics of daily practice.

Adult educators of all orientations are challenged to work together to make explicit our vantage points and to "follow through" on implications related to learning if we place meaning and change at our epistemological centre. *Paradigm-Interpreters* and *Theory Content Specialists* are encouraged to turn their own theory generating work back to analyze all aspects of research process. For example, concerning the relationship of methodology to funding organizations: If we are in paradigmatic transition, using more open-ended inductive approaches to generate theory, what does this mean in terms of organizational goals and limited resources? Concerning the relationship of theory content to data collection methods such as designing interview questions: If we are assuming multiple constructions of meaning, what does this suggest in terms of pursuing participants' own concept of *learning* and considering how their understandings of the word learning may shape their responses to our questions?

Drawing from the *Working Set of Assumptions*, strategies are proposed for *Practitioners* in planning, implementing, and evaluating activities. For instance, in the planning stage, they are invited to build in responses to participants' experience of sudden meaning change, such as stopping to explore participants' experience and to discuss concepts of learning. Suggestions for the implementation and evaluation stages include how to interpret participants' experiences and priorities for attention. The chief priority is to attend to participants' *breaking point* experiences in a manner consistent with pedagogical objectives and ethics. When developing approaches and materials we must build shifts into format and activities which respond to both participants' changing meaning and experience of changing meaning. This should include responding to changing sense of relationship with other participants, the adult educator, and the community.

All adult educators are urged to reflect on how people's experiences and responses to pervasive change influence every aspect of adult education. Ironically, if we do not, we will ignore one of our most striking experiences in modern context and one of the experiences commonly expressed by adult educators.

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THE EXPERIENCE OF SPINAL CORD INJURY AS TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING

Christine Carpenter

ABSTRACT

A qualitative research approach was used to ascertain the meanings attributed to the experience of spinal cord injury. Common was a sense of continuity of self-concept and a conscious involvement with a unique learning process. A theory of transformative learning is introduced which facilitates understanding of this learning process.

En utilisant une méthod de reserche qualitatif on a déterminé les sentiments attribuaient à la expérience de lésion à la moelle épinière. En commun, on a trouvé une continuité de la confiance en soi et la participation consciente dans une méthod d'apprentissage unique. Une théorie d'apprentissage "transformatif" est introduit qui facilite la compréhension de cette méthode d'étude.

INTRODUCTION

Through my involvement as a physiotherapist with the rehabilitation system in Vancouver I developed social and professional relationships with persons who have lived with spinal cord injury for many years. My conversations with individuals, "old hands,' as they call themselves, over the years suggested that their responses to the injury could be more effectively understood in the light of "significant life event," and as involving a whole range of uniquely personal, social and economic factors, not simply a function of the extent of the physical disability. In general, however, spinal cord injury is viewed by health professionals as a personal tragedy having devastating and permanent effects on an individual's life. An individual's response to the injury is seen to occur in accordance with theories of predictable stages of psychological adjustment. Rehabilitation programs are directed primarily towards managing issues of survival. It was a growing awareness of the major discrepancy between the perception of spinal cord injury held by health professionals and society in general, and those people who experience the injury over time that formed the background from which this research question evolved.

The main research question was "How do persons conceptualize the experience of spinal cord injury over time?" Pratt (1992) defines conception as "an abstract, cognitive representation of some phenomenon" and it is this definition I chose to use in this study. The word experience is used to indicate the act of living through, and involvement with, the event of spinal cord injury and its consequences.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research approach was chosen as the most appropriate to explore individual conceptions of the phenomenon of spinal cord injury. The methodology for this study was both descriptive and interpretive and draws from several schools of thought which have phenomenology as their underlying philosophy. A phenomenological approach concentrates on the subject's experience in the complexity of its context. Schutz's (1967) phenomenological theory developed the idea of the role of consciousness in giving meanings to phenomenon, and the importance of commonsense interpretations of reality. This research is essentially exploratory. This study is seen as a phase in a line of enquiry which will lead to the development of concepts about the learning strategies developed by individuals experiencing the long term consequences of spinal cord injury.

The ten subjects involved in the study were all individuals who had sustained a traumatic spinal cord injury with resulting quadriplegia or paraplegia between three and five years ago. All the subjects were self-defined as "successfully rehabilitated." The data collection method chosen was semi-structured interviews. In this type of interview the researcher, having chosen the particular focus of the study, asks non-directive questions designed as triggers to encourage the subject to talk in that broad area. Data analysis entailed several thorough readings of the interview transcripts in order to gain a sense of the emerging conceptual patterns, and of the totality of the data. These patterns were developed into a number of thematic categories of description or conceptions for which criteria were established. The data were then examined closely for quotes of the subjects' actual words which represent these categories.

FINDINGS

Three themes, consisting of a grouping of conceptions of the experience held in common by the subjects, and by which meaning was made of the injury, were identified; rediscovery of self, redefining disability and establishing a new identity. These themes, whilst representing commonalties, revealed the complex and multidimensional nature of each individual's experience. They were interwoven in the subjects' ongoing experience of the injury, and the strategies associated with each theme were utilized simultaneously in meeting the day to day challenges of living with a disability. The disability and overall sense of loss were initially symbolized by the physical changes or the external experience of disability. These are separate from the internal concept of 'self' which was perceived by the individuals as being the same as pre-injury and which represented their accumulated life history and experience.

The theme of rediscovering self is concerned with those components of the post-injury experience which inhibit or facilitate a reintegration of the internal and external selves. The inhibiting factors identified included the loss of control over physical functioning and capabilities, alienation from the 'real world,' the restrictive environment - "like doing hard time" - and instructional limitations of the rehabilitation facility - "they told me I couldn't" - and the attitudes of the health professionals. The process was found to be facilitated by the continuity of a sense of self, a gradual build-up of a new framework of experience and personal resources accrued from their pre-injury history and context. The rehabilitation program provided important information about altered physiological functioning, and taught the skills essential for survival following the injury, and for sustaining health in the future. The ensuing knowledge base resulted in a revived sense of self.

The theme of redefining disability was achieved by challenging the attitudes and stereotypes espoused by health professionals and society. "Proving them wrong," and asserting one's view of the future, further increased self confidence and enabled the individuals to carve out their own definitions of 'normal' and 'disability.' A new sense of coherence, of being "back on track," was seen as occurring through attributing meaning to the cause of the injury, expanding the range of available options and developing new value priorities.

The third theme concerns the establishment of a new identity. Spinal cord injury is an assault on the individuals' sense of personal identity. A sense of identity involves a complex combination of the individual's self-concept, history and roles in relation to significant others and to society. Immediately following spinal cord injury a whole series of "I am's" are no longer relevant and a loss of identity is experienced. The learning process involved letting go of some "I am's" and developing others about which the person could feel good. This process was found to be associated with making comparisons with others by which self-esteem could be enhanced, by association and dialogue with a peer minority, by creating intimacy with significant others and new ways of interacting with society.

Rehabilitation programs were associated, by the subjects, with 'physical' as contrasted with 'mental' rehabilitation. The two seemed distinct and separate in the subjects' minds. 'Mental' rehabilitation was seen as occurring, primarily after discharge from the rehabilitation facility, through their efforts to reassert their own sense of self over the changed circumstances of disability. The subjects perceived "success" in terms of their psychological development, "maturing," "growing up" "my attitude to life" rather than in terms of physical functioning and ability. The subjects considered the mind to be one of the greatest assets in achieving "success." While the contribution of the rehabilitation instruction, and particularly that of individual health professionals, was acknowledged, "success" was attributed more to their own personality traits, their past experiences, their relationship with others and the new priorities they set for themselves. The learning which resulted from the injury experience was described as "unexpected," "sudden," "unlike anything they had experienced before," but also part of a process, sometimes related to disability sometimes not, that they could see continuing throughout their lives.

These findings bear little relationship to the instructional content of current rehabilitation programs, and defy explanation through the traditional learning perspective of skill acquisition and behavioral change which has dominated rehabilitation practice, and to which research is primarily directed. The data revealed a way of understanding the experience of spinal cord injury which is not adequately expressed in the rehabilitation literature. It became obvious that these individual's were engaged on a unique and ongoing learning process. The quality and complexity of the learning process suggested by these results denies the images conjured, and the connotations engendered, by the terms 'adjustment' or 'coping' which are commonly used to describe this process. In contrast, the results suggest the attainment of new individual consciousness and personal growth which transcends the limitations imposed by physical disability and which propels the individual on to a full and satisfying life. The process of establishing a new identity in relationship to others and society had a 'conscious' reflective component and appeared to share similarities with the psychological concept of 'self-actualization.'

A TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING INTERPRETATION OF THE EXPERIENCE

Central to the idea of lifelong process is the notion of praxis as alternating and continuous engagements by learners in exploration, action and refection (Brookfield, 1986). This innovative kind of learning can occur without professional intervention and is premised on the adult's ability to make meaning of an experience. These concepts are central to the transformative theory of adult learning as proposed by Mezirow (1978, 1981, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1988, 1990) who defines this type of learning as "the process of learning through critical self-reflection, which results in the reformulation of a meaning perspective to allow a more inclusive, discriminating, and integrative understanding of one's experience" (Ibid., 1990, p. xvi). Perspective transformation, a form of change of consciousness, is a core premise around which Mezirow's (1978) emerging theory of transformative learning has been organized.

This change of consciousness may occur through a series of gradual transitions or through sudden insight (Ibid., 1981). "Disorienting dilemmas" of which old ways of knowing cannot make sense become catalysts or "trigger events" that precipitate critical reflection and transformations (Ibid., 1990). The"trigger event" in the case of the subjects in this study is traumatic spinal cord injury and the resultant disability. It is an experience which calls a halt to life as previously known, 'demands attention' and a change in the individual's perspective of reality. Mezirow has differentiated two dimensions of meaning; meaning schemes and meaning perspectives. Meaning schemes are habitual expectations, for example, expecting that food will satisfy hunger (Ibid., 1990). Meaning perspectives are made up of higher order schemata, theories, beliefs, prototypes, goal orientations and evaluations, and involve criteria for making value judgements and for belief systems.

The individuals involved in this study, developed meaning perspectives through association with the majority group of able bodied in North America. These meaning perspectives are derived from a society that places great value on youth, vigour, physical attractiveness, industriousness and independence. This same society places ongoing trust in the power of medicine to reverse the effects of disease and disability. In such a society there are powerful stigmas and little esteem associated with persons who lack these characteristics and the capacity for cure (Sim, 1990). In this culture we early learn the concept of difference and the rejection of that which is different. These prevalent meaning perspectives were reflected in one subjects' comment:

> I never had anything to do with someone in a wheelchair before. If I saw a person on the street I'd just try not to stare, but I used to feel so sorry for him, as if his life was sort of over.

As a result of the experience of traumatic spinal cord injury these individuals became, virtually overnight, members of the minority of disabled in society. Initially their experience is controlled by their present meaning perspectives which are a reflection of how they experienced reality in the past. The results of this study would indicate these individuals' self-definitions of success are related to an emerging ability, during the early months post-injury, to confront the inadequacy of their meaning perspectives under these radically altered conditions.

Learning to become aware involves a "process of reflecting back on prior learning to determine whether what we have learned is justified under present circumstances (Mezirow, 1990, p.5). Douglas came to fully recognise his personal changes through working with newly injured individuals:

> When I went back to [the rehabilitation centre] to do some counselling it was a marker for me. It was then I really noticed the difference between them and myself four years down the road. I kept seeing me, as I was then, in them and so see the difference in how far I'd come, not just physically but more mentally.

An integral part of self-reflective learning is action. Malcolm is clear in his belief that what contributed to his learning process is "drawing on positive action. Success in any shape or form that makes us happy is part of the process of getting over the injury." Action resulting from self-reflective learning is emancipatory. The injury is initially viewed as alien to all experience, but over time, that experience becomes reorganized in order to incorporate it. The validity of these new insights or meaning perspectives can only be judged by the individual. Brian thought that, in the context of his own experience, "the accident was the hardest thing I'd ever had to cope with in my life." However, he recently experienced the death of his mother from cancer which "was devastating, far harder than coping with my accident. I realized that what I thought was the lowest point of my life, and the worst thing that could happen to me, had faded into the past."

This type of learning process seems to overwhelm the individual at times, engaging the individual's intellect and emotions in a manner that many subjects described as more profound than anything they had experienced before. Mezirow (1990) adds the proviso that "taking action on a new transformative insight can be blocked by external or internal constraints (or both), by situational and psychic factors, or simply by inadequate information or lack of skill to proceed" (p. 12). Ian described a situation at work, three years after his accident, which he recognised "set me back, had a real detrimental effect on our lives." A new foreman had been hired at the printing company who had:

> A serious prejudice against the disabled and he just decided to get rid of me. He couldn't fire me openly so he set out to prove that I was incompetent. He made life really unpleasant for about a year.

Mezirow (1990) has also developed and described the concept of domains of learning in relationship to meaning schemes and perspectives. The first domain is instrumental learning, when we engage in task-oriented problem solving, that is, learning how to do something or how to perform. The first theme of rediscovering 'self' is concerned with the strategies employed by individuals to gain mastery over physical functioning and which enable them to progress beyond the issues of survival. This involves learning new skills for survival and identifying and achieving new goals.

The second domain is communicative learning. Communicative learning is grounded in social interaction and communication with others and is governed by consensual norms, judgements, propositions, beliefs, opinions, or feelings. The uniqueness of communicative learning stems from seeking the meaning and validity of the communication of others (Mezirow,1990). This learning follows a process described as the "hermenuetic circle" in which "we continually move back and forth between the parts and the whole of that we seek to understand and between the event and our habits of expectation" (Ibid., p. 9).

Redefinition of disability; the second theme identified through the data, was achieved by engaging the attitudes and stereotypes of disability held by themselves pre-injury and reflected by health professionals and society in general. In rethinking the relationship of disability with their daily lives, and with others, these individuals rejected the health professionals' devaluing attitudes towards their capabilities and potential. Not only did they reject them but they turned those expectations and attitudes into a challenge. The resulting action was directed at "proving them wrong." The subjects described their progress through the early years after their injury in such terms as "one step forward, two steps back" or "you win some, you lose some." Influenced by the others' reactions to the disability their gradual rediscovery of 'self,' and integration of disability into their lives, proceeded in a pattern of retreat and advance. Positive influences were described as the support of family and old friends, who spanned the present injury experience connecting the past with the future and, in this way, represented the continuity of an individual's life. Friends reinforced the individual's self-concept by "treating me just like before," and recognising when "my old personality began to reassert itself." Negative influences included the loss of old friends "who couldn't handle seeing me like this," and persons' in position of power who presented obstacles to the achievement of goals.

All the subjects spoke of the importance they placed in their association with others who shared the same injury in common. It was through a dialogue with their peers or "brothers in arms," particularly in the early years, that they were able to share relevant information, test out new attitudes, and formulate new ideas. Relationships with old friends and family were based on a sharing of common history and social context. These new relationships were founded on the commonality of the injury experience. They were able to see beyond the visible disability to the inner 'self.' Each person engaged in their own unique process of establishing new meaning perspectives was able to recognize and appreciate a similar process in others.

The third domain of learning is transformative learning. New meaning perspectives can be acquired but transformative learning is considered to have occurred only if insights are gained as to the significance and reasons underscoring them. It is characteristic of transformative learning to demand the total engagement of people as integrated whole beings. The subjects appeared to have assimilated disability into the continuum of their lives and in so doing established a new identity based on the acknowledged reality of the disability. Inherent in this type of learning is "a freedom from institutional, libidinal and environmental forces which limit options and exert rational control over one's life" (Mezirow, 1981, p.5). The subjects had become used to living with disability and unless faced with an unexpected barrier or a query from the curious, tended to be unaware of physical limitations.

Transformative learning is concerned with the development of self-knowledge through critical reflection. Critical reflection plays a part in all three learning domains of learning and it differentiates transformative learning from other types of learning. It is the term Mezirow (1990) reserves to refer to challenging the validity of presuppositions in prior learning. Critical reflection "transforms meaning perspectives through an assessment of *epistemic, sociocultural* and *psychic* distortions acquired through the uncritical acceptance of another's values" (Ibid., p. 14).

Epistemic distortions, according to Mezirow (1990), have to do with the belief held by an individual that every problem has a correct solution and the required knowledge is held by the right expert. This type of distortion is embedded in the medical model which has influenced rehabilitation philosophy and contributes to a generalized faith in modern medicine's capacity to cure all ills. It contributes to the attitude of health professionals and to the devaluation experienced by 'patients' with uncurable conditions. Mezirow (1990) describes another example of this type of distortion as being based on description, for example, "using what psychologists describe as life stages as standards for judging a particular individual's development" (p. 15). This aptly describes the adherence, by health professionals, to the stages model of adjustment to disability and their firmly entrenched expectations of levels of injury. In asserting themselves as individuals experiencing spinal cord injury in unique and different ways the subjects were forced, as part of their learning process, to challenge these distortions in others' perspectives. This recognition of the disparity between their newly created meaning perspectives and those of the health professionals was only possible once the subjects had consciously become aware of how their old meaning perspectives had shifted or been transformed.

Sociocultural distortions involve "taking for granted belief systems that pertain to power and social relationships, especially those currently prevailing and legitimizing and enforced by institutions" (Ibid., p.15). The commonly held belief is that health professionals, and in particular physicians, have the knowledge and expertise to effect a cure; that they know best, and following their instructions will ensure a person of continuing health. Accepting this type of distortion shifts the responsibility for health and well being onto another person and denies the role of the individual in assuming self-responsibility. Clearly the individuals in this study learn over time to assess this distortion and discard it as lacking utility in the context of establishing a new identity and assuming self-responsibility.

Psychological distortions have to do with the presuppositions based in childhood which result in past and present pressures and anxieties which impede action in adult life. Grappling with these types of distortions is a uniquely adult characteristic. Issues of this nature do not go away simply because a person becomes disabled. Some of the subjects indicated that over time issues of this nature, integral to human development, occupied the forefront of their lives whilst the disability experience retreated to the background.

CONCLUSION

The subjects in this study all defined themselves as 'successful' and in achieving this success have carved a new and uniquely individual path through the obstacles created by their own attitudes, and as a result of being a minority in society. This represents a major qualitative shift in their perception of the world around them, and of their relationship with that world, which suggests a radical change of consciousness or transformation. There is an underlying confidence in their own decision making powers and rationale for action which forms a base from which they can assert their viewpoint within the larger context of society. In developing this new assertiveness they appear to have renegotiated definitions of 'normal.' Their new definition of 'normal' involved recognising and understanding their old meaning perspectives, critically reflecting on them and creating new ones more appropriate to the circumstances of disability. The subjects are able to see the disability from the perspective of others and work to actively influence and change their perspective.

The inclusion of consciousness and critical reflectivity into a theory of learning shifts the focus of learning from skills acquisition and a stages model of adjustment to a continual lifelong process. A theory of transformative model both informs, and is informed by, the experience of spinal cord injury . Such a theory would provide a mechanism by which the experience can be interpreted and disability reconceptualized by health professionals, and would lend itself to a more client centred rehabilitation service provision.

References and Glossary of spinal cord injury terminology will be available at the presentation

COLLABORATIVE PLANNING AS COMMUNITY LEARNING AND EMPOWERMENT *

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Adult education "researchers" and "practitioners" tend to inhabit different worlds. They take different courses in graduate programs, engage in distinct kinds of discourse, belong to different professional associations and, to a large extent, read their own professional journals. However, as the critique of positivism deepens and both researchers and practitioners adopt more ecumenical attitudes, old roles and distinctions are collapsing: "research" becomes "practice", and "practice" becomes "research." Praxis, long a mainstay of adult education, involves reflection, action, reflection and action. Action research or action-science (Argyris et al, 1987) also entails the parallel use of processes typically associated with the twin solitudes of "research" and adult education "practice".

The purpose of this project was to analyze a collaborative planning project conducted with B.C. Immigrant Service Settlement Agencies. Although undertaken to meet specific needs in B.C., the processes were an important "product" of the research. "Practice" and "research" were blended. The context for the work was one shared with many social service agencies throughout Canada and, as such, this research had utility for adult education researchers and practitioners elsewhere in Canada. The aim was to develop collaborative approaches among B.C. Lower Mainland immigrant service agencies to improve advocacy, expand the funding base and strengthen service standards. The project was designed to develop participants' abilities to plan and think strategically through problem definition, problem solving, decision making and action.

BACKGROUND: Immigrant settlement services in B. C. are largely provided by non-profit agencies. As well, some "mainstream" service providers are modifying and expanding their programming to meet the needs of immigrant and multi-ethnic clients. This network assists immigrant newcomers to settle, adapt, and cope with relocation and cultural adjustment. Despite service links and cooperative efforts, each agency operated fairly autonomously. Agencies were often in competition for the same scarce funding. These two seemingly contradictory conditions - agency autonomy and collective dependence on funders - inhibited collaboration.

In April 1990, a regional collaborative planning process was begun by the United Way and City of Vancouver to find ways of better meeting the needs of immigrant and multi-ethnic clients in the Lower Mainland. The original membership of this group included 35 major Lower Mainland immigrant serving agencies, major funders and mainstream agencies. A

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**The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of her colleague, William Israel, who was co-animateur of this project.

regional Task Force on Multi-Ethnic Social Services was struck, comprising 13 Executive Directors of representative agencies, and coordinated by a community umbrella group. The author** worked with the Task Force over a six month period (January to June, 1991).

PERSPECTIVE/THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: Cooperative action research is based on principles of discovery, empowerment, participation, democracy and self-determination. This is research **with** communities (rather than research **for** communities). It builds on knowledge and experience, assumes that community groups are able to identify and solve their problems, and ensures that they participate creatively in the investigative and decision-making processes of research (Kirby & McKenna, 1989). It is based on the principle that people must investigate the practices which affect their lives in their own contexts. Through participatory action research, groups can "organize the conditions under which they can learn from their own experiences and make this experience accessible to others." (McTaggart, 1991, p.170). Cooperative action research determines a particular research concern with the parties affected, and resolves the problem through a combination of exploration and action. The abilities of participants are honed through problem identification, problem solving, decision making and action taking. The researchers will not always know about the exact pattern the inquiry will take. They must remain flexible and sensitive to the evolving situation (Kirby & McKenna, 1989).

METHODOLOGY: This Project called for cooperative identification of priorities for strategic action by agencies, and the creation of a plan for working together. Agencies required a plan of action to strengthen their ability to meet the needs of immigrant and multi-ethnic clients by obtaining adequate funding, defining new approaches to services, and planning and acting more effectively through collaboration.

The methodology included the following operations undertaken cooperatively by Task Force members: problem definition, planning for addressing the problem, and choosing the methods to be used. The role of the animateurs was to articulate the process and facilitate it. The animateurs were especially concerned that participation be authentic and took this to mean that participants should have an active role in conceptualizing the research design, the processes and action taken. These steps encompass Tandon's (1988) "determinants" of authentic participation: setting the inquiry agenda, data collection and analysis, and control over the process and the outcomes.

Participatory techniques used for planning and learning included: 1) group analysis of needs and expectations; 2) collaborative design of data collection and analysis; 3) participatory planning workshop to identify issues, generate solutions, and establish responsibilities for action; 4) followup meetings to evaluate progress and ensure that action plans were implemented. Woven into these steps was a process the animateurs referred to as "action-experiments" - situations requiring collaborative action which arose during the project. The "theory" of collaborative action expressed in participants' strategic thinking about issues was integrated with collaborative practice to become "theory in action" (Argyris & Schon, 1974).

Problem Definition: Setting the Agenda : The cycle of planning, acting, observing, and evaluating begins with identifying a need for change (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988). In this case, the Collaborative Network had identified inter-agency collaboration as an issue. The inability of agencies to work together was seen to impede their ability to obtain adequate funding, and to coordinate their services effectively.

The first research task was to work with the entire Task Force to "thematize" concerns. They were asked to list outcomes related to practical opportunities for collaboration. From this discussion emerged a simple model representing an interrelationship among the three main "themes" of the research project: funding strategies, collaboration and service models. This was used as a framework for project processes and outcomes. From this point forward in the research, the project emphasized agency involvement and outcomes which could easily be translated into action. Agencies agreed to work together to identify priorities for action and outline an action plan.

Data Collection and Analysis : The Task Force decided on a self-administered questionnaire as the primary means to garner agency opinions concerning the research themes and their interrelationship. The questionnaire was designed as a "thinking instrument" to guide respondents to reflect on the three interrelated issues: collaboration, funding and service models. Respondents were also asked to discuss barriers to collaboration, and areas in which they would **not** want to collaborate. With the exception of background questions on the agencies themselves (eg. type of agency, clientele served), all questions were open-ended. After a preliminary discussion concerning the intent and content of the instrument, the project animateurs designed a first draft and brought it back to the group for discussion. Revisions were made and two versions (one for funders and one for service agencies) distributed to all participants of the Collaborative Network (35 questionnaires in all).

There were two rounds of telephone follow-up calls to respondents. Thirteen completed questionnaires were returned to the Consultants. Seven were from members of the Task Force (out of a total of 13 members), and five were from other members of the broader Collaborative Network. In addition, three respondents sent information on program or issues for consideration. Respondents included a cross section of funders, municipalities, ethno-specific and multi-ethnic immigrant service agencies, mainstream agencies, and coordinating agencies. Seven respondents attended a half-day "focus group" to discuss issues raised in the questionnaires. The proceedings of this focus group were recorded on flip chart, and brought forward in the report of the questionnaire responses.

The author analyzed questionnaire and focus group material and inductively derived a list of priority issues. Those most frequently mentioned by respondents were given high priority and were organized around the three planning issues. No attempt was made to quantify or generalize the results. This report was intended as background material for the planning workshop in mid-May, 1991; Task Force members used it to identify major issues for discussion at the May workshop.

Collaborative Action Planning : The report on questionnaire and focus group findings was distributed to Task Force members, and discussed at a half-day meeting. The purpose of this discussion was to "flush out" issues to bring forward to a two-day workshop, planned as a strategic planning exercise involving both service agencies and funders. Task Force members clarified priorities identified in questionnaires, and identified strategic issues for discussion at the Planning Workshop. An agenda for the workshop, and attendance, was established with full participation of Task Force Members.

The workshop was held with Task Force and other Network members the first day, and broadened to include funders the second day. It was well attended with full representation from the Task Force and substantial attendance from the wider Collaborative Network (27 registrants). The agenda involved small group discussions focused on the priority issues, during which participants discussed the context for problematic situations, and "do-able" solutions. Themes were: professional standards, service evaluation, funding and consultation.

The second day of the workshop, funders joined the discussion. All participants again worked in small groups (pre-determined by the consultants to ensure maximum mixing of types of agencies and representation of funders), to further hone statements of the problems, and to jointly identify solutions and action plans. The final activity of the workshop involved all participants in "action-planning": a distilling of the proposals, and assigning time lines and responsibilities for each of the six action plans which emerged. Task Force members made a record of the plans, divided themselves into work groups and set meeting times and agendae for future activities.

Action-experiments During the Research Process : Three issues with potential for collaborative and strategic action arose during the project. Each was incorporated as an opportunity for the group to design and test strategies for cooperative problem solving and design of relevant action plans. The issues were:

1. Designing a method to consult collaboratively with senior provincial government officials on immigrant settlement issues. Although the original intention of government was to meet individually with each agency, Task Force members acted proactively and collectively to formulate consistent interagency positions to present to the government consultation team. They also arranged a collective meeting of agencies and the government team, coordinated by the agencies themselves.

2. Taking collective action on the presumptive and unilateral

imposition of service criteria by a federal funder of settlement services. It was recognized by Task Force members that the issue, which affected one agency in particular, was in reality an issue for all agencies who received funding from this source. A strategic course of action challenging the funder's position and proactive advocacy with federal headquarters was designed, planned and undertaken as part of the project.
3. Preparation and presentation of a proposal for funding at a "public relations" meeting with the provincial Minister. This action involved strategic collaboration, and the drafting of a funding proposal to take advantage of the "window of opportunity" presented by the meeting with the Minister. The group demonstrated strategic thinking, goals development, and cooperative planning. They designated an agency to take the proposal forward. This action was strong evidence of their ability as a group to see the strategic possibilities of the situation, and act proactively, immediately and cooperatively.

RESEARCH OUTCOMES: These were both tangible "deliverables" (the formation of action plans and a formal collaborative network), and intangibles (team building, group solidarity, taking power, learning to think collaboratively and strategically). Agencies explored and developed the theme of strategic collaboration through group analysis, problem solving, decision making and action. Thus the "theory" of collaborative action present in participants' strategic thinking about the issues, became integrated with direct collaborative "practice." Agencies showed a willingness to engage in non-competitive action to identify leadership skills and delegate responsibilities to group members according to their strengths. This required a commitment to the concept that each agency is fortified by cooperative action. When acting in a collaborative mode, group members allowed the group goal to supersede the need for individual agencies to score competitive points with funders or potential funders.

The "action-experiments" in collaborative consultation demonstrated clearly to the group the effectiveness of and payoffs for such action. This reinforcement of the theory of collaboration was an empowering episode for participants: it provided the basis for confidence in challenging patriarchal action on behalf of funders, and taking proactive control of government/agency consultation agendae. It was seen as a confirmatory "test case" for collaborative action.

The community learning outcomes of this project were related to meeting, discussing and planning together, while focusing on strategic issues "over and above" operational issues. The "theory" of collaborative strategy developed in this project was that strategic collaboration was an effective way of focusing on the longer term, and identifying and acting on problems and opportunities collaboratively. This differs from operational collaboration, which is an ad hoc, issue by issue, reactive mode of for combining resources. In this project, using the former gave the group the vision and means to change conditions of constraint. It was acknowledged by the group that operational strategies, while sometimes highly effective, do not change the conditions of operation, and too often result in a piecemeal focus on day-to-day matters. The strategic approach can be seen as a type of group meta-analysis, made possible through fellowship, joint vision and planning.

DISCUSSION/CONCLUSION: Advantages of using a cooperative research design for the Collaborative Action Planning Project were:
a) Proposals and plans were in the range of possibility because they were made by those who intended to carry them out.
b) A greater range and variety of talent was available at each stage of the research process: different perceptions, experiences and competencies greatly enriched the research activity.
c) There was a high quality of group problem solving, resulting from more ways of looking at problems, more suggestions for solutions, a larger number of effective criticisms of each proposed plan, and the opportunity for group members to accept criticism and avoid becoming entrenched within a single position.
d) Participants came to constitute a group whose members provided considerable support to each other for risking change.
e) A strong feeling of group identification and solidarity developed, as did a spirit of support for cooperative work (although this needed to be balanced with a judicious attitude toward realities "back at the office").
f) Cooperation should prevent participants from feeling manipulated or coerced by study results. Because all worked together in identifying and working through the phases of research and action, the process was "transparent" and accessible to them.

Research of this type has educational, practical and political outcomes for community groups. Participants learned to think, plan and act strategically. Working and learning together provided a foundation for solidarity and collaboration, which resulted in the creation of a sector ethos among the agencies. This in turn helped them in their advocacy for funding, and provided a solid basis for joint analysis and planning.

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An Exploration of Factors Supporting Adult Religious Education in Canada: Methodology and Some Preliminary Findings

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Abstract: The study looks at the human and material resources and the support systems which are currently available to adult religious educators in Canada. The report which will be published after the research is fully analyzed should be an important source of information and ideas for adult religious educators planning to improve and develop their own adult learning projects across the country.

Cette étude prend en considération les ressources humaines et matérielles, aussi que tout ce qui peut aider ou supporter les responsables de l'éducation religieuse aux adultes au Canada. Le rapport, que sera publié suite à une recherche très poussée, devrait être une source importante d'information et de créativité pour ceux et celles qui se consacrent à l'éducation religieuse des adultes et que désirent améliorer et développer leurs propres projets d'éducation à travers le pays.

Religious institutions of most denominations have been trying to shift their focus from a primary concern with the instruction of children and youth to at least an equal concern for the education of adults. Extending the premise that to be religious is to be involved in "education in faith", Boys (1989) emphasizes that religious education as it is traditionally defined and practised (i.e., with an emphasis on children) is only a minor part of a more dynamic whole. In keeping with this change religious institutions are currently witnessing the growth of a new area -- adult religious education -- under the broader rubric of religious education. Evidence of this fact is that many denominations and an increasing number of local churches have added adult religious education specialists to their staff; books about the topic are appearing on popular booksellers lists, (e.g. Vogel's, (1991), Teaching and Learning in Communities of Faith, Jossey-Bass); and serious steps have been taken during the last decade to develop high quality resource materials. The publications of the World Council of Churches and the Canadian Conference of Bishops (CCCB), National Office of Religious Education, Adult Portfolio, are good examples of the latter. This fact also has led to a shift in understanding adult religious education. Piazza (1987) explains

> Adult religious education is not an isolated program, but rather, it is a faith-formative process that has a complementary relationship. . . . [It] is one aspect of the overarching process of adult faith formation -- a process of being shaped by God and of shaping one's faith response (p. 29).

Many adult education programs in the past were one-shot programs; others were a series of programs unrelated to each other. This 1approach is no longer viable. The adults in the pew are demanding more. Ralph (1987) explains this demand:

> Adult education is not a program but a process. Adult education involves faith sharing, a reflection on experience, not just head knowledge. Adult education is primarily self-directed -- the teacher is not a walking encyclopedia but a fellow pilgrim and facilitator. The good of adult education is not just to inform but to form, to nurture active adult faith. (p. 62).

The Roman Catholic Church in Canada recognized this demand from adults, and subsequently translated the demand into a growing concern for the need to strengthen adult religious education in the country. As an initial response to this need, in 1986 the National Office of Adult Religious Education, Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, published their first report, Adult Faith, Adult Church. This document resulted from broad consultations with those involved in the field of adult religious education in Canada. It recommended that four main issues be addressed as pastoral priorities in strengthening adult religious education: faith community as educator, maturing adult believers, how adults learn, and structures which support adult religious education.The last issue raised more questions than answers. This fact was acknowledged in the report recommendation which read:

> Initiate a national study to better determine how adult religious education is structured across Canada. Study the finding and publish a report. Share experiences of which structures support adult learning, adult religious education and community within Church (Adult Faith, Adult Church, p. 71).

In May, 1989, a research project to carry out this recommendation was set in motion. The project was intended to be participatory, and to involve and hear from as many people as possible. The next section explains how the project was carried out.

Methodology

The first phase was a focus group on Creating Supportive Structures for Adult Learning, which was held during the Adult Faith to Faith conference in May, 1989. The idea of the research project was introduced to and discussed with this group. The synthesis from this session provided numerous suggestions for the conduct of the study, and these were translated into a set of research questions: What is going on now, where and how? Who is involved? What structures support and what barriers impede adult religious education? How are we helping each other (locally, regionally, nationally)? What do we need to know in order to do a better job? These coupled with the National Advisory Committee Adult Religious Education (NACARE) guidelines provided a blueprint for the project. A sub-committee to carry out the task was formed of representatives from NACARE and consultants from the field. A core group at the National Office of Religious Education (NORE), Adult Portfolio, have managed the project.

During the second phase, data were collected in two basic ways: (a) asking people direct or indirect questions, and (b) analyzing existing material. The major methods used in asking people for information were: mailed questionnaires, interviews, and focus groups.

The mailed **questionnaires** were of five types: (a) diocesan -- one was sent to each English diocese and any French diocese with a sizable English-speaking population; (b) general -- one was sent to a random sampling of people across Canada identified as being engaged in some form of adult religious education; (c) religious communities -- one was sent to the major superior of English-speaking congregations that have education as one of their major works; (d) separate school boards -- one was sent to a selection of coordinators or persons across the country in charge of continuing education, religious education, or faith development at this level; and (e) institutions of theological education -- one was sent to directors of continuing education of institutions preparing people for ministry in the Roman Catholic Church. The diocesan and the general questionnaires were very comprehensive. For example, the diocesan one was divided into five parts: diocesan level, parish level, agency and other organizational levels, regional and national level, and a section for additional comments. It was composed of open and closed questions. For the latter, nominal and interval type scales and checklists were used. The questionnaire was 12 pages long. The other three questionnaires -- religious communities, separate school boards and post-secondary institutions -- were shorter and more specific. For example, the post-secondary questionnaire focused on professional development opportunities, statistics about these, and plans for the future. It had five pages.

The **interviews** were conducted with a select group of people across Canada, who were identified by their peers as being the most knowledgeable about the field and the direction it is taking; these people are hereafter referred to as knowledgeables. This manner of selecting people is referred to in the literature as the reputational method (Tait, Bokemeier, & Bohlen, 1980). The reputational method is based on the assumption that power is present and involved in all social relationships. It is also grounded in the assumption that knowledgeables cannot be identified just by those who hold formal offices. Knowledgeables often are "behind the scenes" players affecting community actions and decisions. The limitation of this method could be whether or not knowledgeables selected are aware of and conversant with community needs. This can be guarded against by checking their information for its reliability by using other methods. In this study, the information from knowledgeables was compared with data from the questionnaires and focus groups.

The **focus group** sessions were held with six different constituencies: Atlantic Association of Adult Religious Educators (AAFD), Western Conference of Catholic Educators (WCCRE), Catholic Religious Education Consultants of Ontario (CRECO), Ontario Diocesan Directors of Religious Educators (ODDRE), Canadian Conference of Catholic Lay Associations (CCCLA), and the National Federation of Councils of Priests (NFCP). The focus group was guided by a facilitator, who used a series of questions designed to look into issues relating to structures. The focus group method was originally devised to test new product ideas and to generate ideas for product development (Kops & Percival, 1988). More recently it has been used with success in a variety of other sectors, this study being one good example. The focus group method involves repeat interviews with groups sampled from the target population, such as the ones listed at the beginning of this paragraph.

The mailed questionnaires provided breadth for the study whereas the focus group and interview data provided depth. The combined information has provided rich data, which could not have been obtained by either method without the others.

During the third phase, the data were analyzed and interpreted. Meta-Solutions Inc. of Ottawa did the quantitative analysis. NACARE, the Sub-Committee, and the core group did the rest of the work. The writing and production of the report, the final phase, is currently in progress. The final report will be released March, 1993. The next section contains some preliminary findings.

Preliminary Findings

After some intensive analysis of the data six clusters of key issues emerged. These are:

1. A fuller understanding is needed of the vision of adult catechesis and more faithfulness is needed in living it out.

2. A Church context or "climate" is needed to support a learning, maturing in faith, adult community -- ideas like community collaboration, partnership, critical reflection on "ecclesial conditionings" need to be explored

3. The Canadian reality, adult population demographics, geography, culture and other factors have a significant impact on

the implementation of the vision and practice of adult religious education in Canada.

4. Pastoral planning for intentional pastoral action in adult religious education can be significant, particularly at the diocesan and parish levels.

5. The Church's current reality around human resources reveals a need for more personnel in adult religious education and for formation/leadership development/training for these same people.

6. More material resources need to be allocated to adult religious education in order to achieve the Church's goals, objectives and vision.

From what people say, the Canadian Roman Catholic Church is in the initial stages of structuring for adult religious education. This is a beginning enterprise; adult religious education is exciting, not dying. There is a sense of a lot of movement and energy from what people said. For example, of the 46 dioceses who responded to the questionnaire, 14 (30%) have a diocesan commission, committee or council dedicated to adult religious education; 11 (24%) have incorporated or linked adult religious education directly to another group; others are in the beginning stages of organizing. Of 45 dioceses 39 (87%) have a resource centre, and 35 of 37 dioceses (95%) feel that the material is easily accessible to adult educators; 32 of 36 dioceses (89%) feel that the material is easily accessible to learners. The adult learning opportunities most frequently presented in dioceses fall into two major categories: formation (biblical studies, RCIA, spiritual growth/development) and role (parent educator, catechist development, ministry). In the general questionnaire the data revealed that people are asking for more. This means that, in future, program offerings will have to be broadened to include: more offerings around contemporary issues in society and social justice concerns, to name a few.

Things are happening in school boards; the potential for adult religious education is there. Currently most activities are role-related (e.g. adult as parent). Data also reveal that religious communities have a definite commitment to adult religious education. Their involvement varies from the traditional (parish and school) to "cutting edge" activities (addictions, leadership training, ecumenism).

People were hopeful and committed to adult education; they recognized its importance. As one person put it, "I consider adult religious education important simply because adults are the leaders in society and in the Church; they aren't naive; they recognize the challenges and are working with them." People didn't contradict each other, either; there is unanimity across the country on most issues relating to adult religious education. The idea of holistic education, meeting the needs of the whole person, is threaded throughout the interviews.

Although it is difficult to define structure, respondents generally agreed that to try to name it is useful. Sometimes the word structure can be seen in a very negative, institutional context; it doesn't have to be like that, as one respondent explains:

> Another metaphor for structure is the spine of the body; it is basic, it supports everything. But the spine is a wonderful structure. It allows all kinds of movement; it is organic, composed of many other dynamics. It is not just a bunch of bones stacked up on top of each other. It is a system that allows the body to do almost everything. The spine is a really dynamic system.

The theme of collaboration comes up again and again in the data; it threads through structures. In naming the challenges, people stressed the importance of developing community, of looking at intergenerational communication, of encouraging people to take responsibility for their own learning, of looking at how men and women learn together, and of coming to grips with power, knowledge and decision-making issues. Learning across the lifespan was another important theme. The accelerating pace of societal and cultural change makes it imperative that people learn how to understand change in their lives as a natural and positive course. As Smith (1989) points out, "And all of these [experiences] influence our personalities, personal histories, and spiritual life" (p. 38). This is one reason why adult religious education is so important.

The following questions are among those raised by the research:

> Did you realize that less than 1/5 of the dioceses in Canada have an adult education co-ordinator or mission statement?
>
> Have you any idea what a "typical" person working in adult education would look like?
>
> What vision of adult religious education is currently held in Canada?
>
> Is there a common language that we use when speaking of adult religious education?
>
> What models of collaboration are possible among schools, parishes, dioceses, extension programs, etc?
>
> Where do people go to receive training in adult religious education?

The final report on this project, to be released in 1993, will provide answers, information, and ideas for practice. The report is intended to be read, studied, and reflected upon, so that the concept of adult religious education in all its dimensions will have practical implications. To help with this task questions are being woven throughout the text and reflection sheets are being provided. Suggestions for "how to" will be given.

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ADULT EDUCATION ARTIFACTS: ECHOES OF ATLANTIC CANADA METHODISM

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Abstract

The purpose of this session will be to introduce tenets and activities of early Methodism in what is now Atlantic Canada, and to compare these features with a variety of principles and practices which are recognized by adult educators in Canada today.

Résumé

Cette séance a pour but de présenter les principes et activités relatifs au méthodisme primitif dans ce qui est aujourd'hui les provinces canadiennes de l'Atlantique par rapport aux principes et pratiques admis par les formateurs d'adultes dan le Canada actuel.

ADULT EDUCATION ARTIFACTS: ECHOES OF ATLANTIC CANADA METHODISM

The Session

This conference session will be an exploration of a curiosity. The session will be interpretive, historical, comparative and seminar-like. The purpose will be to introduce tenets and activities of early Methodism in what is now Atlantic Canada, and to compare these features with a variety of principles and practices which are recognized by adult educators in Canada today. This session will be based on an examination of published documents and records of the activities of early Methodists, primarily those in Atlantic Canada.

The session is not intended to suggest that modern Canadian adult education practice emerged in some instrumental fashion from Methodist principles and practices in early Atlantic Canada. Rather, the notion is that echoes of sensibilities which, in part, founded the nation we call Canada, may have some influence in setting a tone for some of the modern practices of Canadian adult educators.

The Curiosity

Why is it that we do what we do,
rather than something else?

How is it that -- at the centre -- many adult educators in Canada have come to hold and share the mixture of values that cause them to act in particular ways? For example, why is it that when other educators have been preoccupied with education of the young, we are concerned with the learning of adults? Why do many adult educators attempt to be supportive of people on the margins of society, people who may be disadvantaged in some way? What makes us concerned about access? How is it that many of us have come to think of the learner and his\her learning as a pivotal interest, rather than attending primarily to matters such as instructor excellence or the perfection of curriculum?

Patrick Keane (1975), in his historical snapshot of "pioneer steps" in the development of adult education in Nova Scotia, suggests that rather than being the outcome of 19th-century government policy, "the facts suggest that the support [for adult education initiatives] stemmed from the convictions of certain key individuals, and from often fortuitous circumstances" (p.162). If Keane's assessment is reliable, it would seem that our attending to "convictions" which were common to individuals of the time might tell us something of the origins of what now seem to be well-worn paths.

William Barrett, in Death of the Soul: From Descartes to the Computer (1986), suggests that our understanding of who we are as conscious beings has become fragmentary. As a way of re-discovering our selves at the centre, Barrett advises us to step backward to try to appreciate that which seems to be on the way to getting lost in our modern world. He adds:

> The Nineteenth is a century we are still struggling to extricate ourselves from. It has thus something of the

> ambiguity of a parental image for us, and our grasp of it, in consequence, is still somewhat uncertain and confused (p.119).

On the face of it, today, adult education appears to have a primarily secular orientation. To the degree that there is a flavour to the field of practice and study, adult education practice often comes to us in the guise of science -- behavioral objectives, sequenced instruction, measurable outcomes and the like. But, powerful as this influence may be, this is hardly what adult education is about at its core. As practitioners, in the conduct of our day-to-day educational enterprise, we seldom explicitly acknowledge that many of the tenets of the field may owe homage to other than secular roots. Yet, that which has been done in the name Canadian adult education -- in its origins, in its key figures and in a number of its exemplary movements -- has often not been far removed from the influences of organized religion. There are pointed examples of close associations. Canadian adult education has a long, rich and continuing relationship with the Young Men's and Women's (YM/YWCA) Christian Associations. The Antigonish Movement was spearheaded by clergy of the Roman Catholic Church. Prior to his "calling" as an adult educator of national consequence, Ned Corbett, was ordained as a minister of the Pentecostal Church. The Chautauqua movement, with heavily Methodist roots, while originating in the United States, has been influential in Canada and world wide. There are, not doubt, other examples.

While it may be overstatement to suggest that Canadian adult education as a field of practice, is _of_ organized religion, it seems quite appropriate to suggest that the field has been long associated _with_ and likely influenced _by_ the principles and beliefs of people with religious convictions. Selman and Dampier (1991) make reference to an example of this very matter:

> From the earliest days of the adult education movement, there was ... a ... tradition in the guidance of learners, which was based not, or not only, on knowledge of the subject which was being mastered, but on the nature of the educational activity or the study materials. The Methodist Bible classes ... are a few among many examples where leadership or guidance of learners came from persons who may not have been much, if any better informed in the content of what was to be learned than the rest of the group, but whose role was one of guiding a process, showing the way, assisting in ways other than imparting content to the learners (p.245).

Selman and Dampier offer a tantalizing tidbit. It perk's ones curiosity and is an enticement to explore.

Exploring

Prior to any sense of Canada as a nation, Methodism was a significant organized religion in what are now the Canadian Atlantic provinces. For all intents and purposes, Methodism arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with the migration of settlers from Yorkshire, England in the late 18th century. For approximately 150 years prior to its partnership in the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925, the Methodist Church was a key aspect of the spiritual and educational life of a significant segment of the population of the what was to become the Atlantic region of Canada. Most of the writers dealing with the history of Methodism in Canada, seem to agree that Methodism in the Atlantic Region, for the first portion of the 19th century, was distinct from that which developed in Upper Canada. The Methodists in the Atlantic Region, for example, generally maintained closer links with the church founders in England than did those in Upper Canada. Also, atlantic Region Methodists generally were not tainted by suspicions of being too closely attached to the American Republic during and after the war of 1812.

Although, the people who were called Methodist attended primarily to the spiritual being, the English founders of this church, John (1703-1791) and Charles (1707-1788) Wesley, were highly educated and they focused a good deal of attention on the educational needs of their flock. The Methodist of most influence in what was to become the Maritimes, was Yorkshire-born William Black (1760-1834). In comparison to the Wesleys, Black was decidedly unlettered, but as a Methodist, he was no less interested in education, and, in fact, Black is a vivid example of a self-directed learner.

Black, with his parents and family, arrived in Halifax in 1775. The family took up farming, residing on what is now the border between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, near Sackville, New Brunswick. Mount Allison University, an institution established in 1843 by the local Methodists, is located in Sackville. However, in 1779, long before there were thoughts of institutions of higher education, Black had a conversion experience. In 1780, he began his life-long work as an itinerant preacher. He also established regular and personal correspondence with John Wesley, a mentorship (Maclean, 1907) which lasted until Wesley's death in 1791.

The conduct of Methodism in early Atlantic Canada includes interesting parallels to current and historic principles and practices of adult education. The page which follows presents an outline of parallels which may be explored during the conference session. Space limitations prevent detailed examination in this text, however, a few words about itinerancy may serve as an example.

Methodist preachers were noted for taking their religion to the people. A primary device was by way of preachers travelling from community to community in wide ranging circuits. They sought to be in places where they perceived the most need. They tended not to operate from permanent facilities, nor did they serve only a single congregation. These itinerants would mold physical settings to their purposes. Church gatherings took place in streets, fields, homes, virtually anywhere a receptive -- and sometimes not so receptive -- audience would gather. The preachers were sustained by the hospitality of people they met.

Interestingly the descriptions of early Methodist preachers are not unlike the itinerancy of early extension educators in Canada, such as those described by Cormack (1981), educators such as Ned Corbett. Indeed, itinerancy is a useful way to describe the activities of many adult educators today, those who move from place to place, operating short-term workshops or seminars on a contract basis. A reality of my own current experience as a university-based educator is one of weekly trips about the province of New Brunswick, carrying along a tote box of materials, markers, tape and flip chart paper, meeting learners engaged in university credit courses, but who live and work at a distance from the university itself. The meetings take place in a variety of available settings as arranged by local organizers. This is a pattern with a 200-year history in Canada. It is only one of many.

METHODISM	ADULT EDUCATION
OPERATING STANCE	
Rebuke to established church	Extra-institutional Counter-institutional
Connexion	Networks
ADHERENT\CLIENT	
Adults Families Children	Adults Families
OUTCOMES	
Religious Conversion Awakening Sinners Revival	Learning as Transformation Consciousness Raising
Grace	Self-esteem
PRACTICES	
The Method	Learning to Learn
Itinerancy Evangelistic Field Preaching Camp Meetings	Distance Education Outreach Workshops\Short Courses
Printed Materials Libraries The Wesleyan	Use of Print Media Libraries Newsletters
Extemporaneous Preaching	Situational Teaching
Journal Keeping	Reflective learning Prior Learning
Familiar tunes for sailors' hymns	Learner-centred
Lay Preachers	Learners as Teachers
ORGANIZATION AND SETTINGS	
Field Preaching Camp Meetings Chautauqua	Radio, T.V., Film for mass audience
Love Feasts & Watch Night Services	Access and use of existing facilities
Community Societies Home Meetings	Community-based Education Kitchen Meetings

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LE SAVOIR-APPRENDRE EXPÉRIENTIEL D'ADULTES ET L'AUTO-FORMATION AU TRAITEMENT DE TEXTE [1]

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RÉSUMÉ: De nombreux adultes, à cause des changements technologiques actuels, doivent apprendre le traitement de texte. L'analyse de la démarche d'apprentissage d'adultes, à l'aide d'une grille d'observation basée sur le modèle d'apprentissage expérientiel de Kolb, révèle que, devant cette tâche complexe d'apprendre le traitement de texte, ces derniers manifestent peu de conduites propices à l'observation réfléchie et à la conceptualisation abstraite et encore moins à l'expérimentation active.

ABSTRACT: Because of present technological changes, many adults must learn to use a word processor. An observation grid based on Kolb's model of experiential learnig was used to anlyse the learnig behavior of adults; in this complex task of learning a word processor, adults demonstrated few behaviors that favoured reflective observation and abstract conceptualization and even less that led to active experimentation.

Les changements technologiques récents ont occasionné d'urgents besoins de formation (Wynne-Edwards, 1991) tant chez les futurs travailleurs que dans la population adulte active. A cet égard, l'apprentissage du traitement de texte devient une qualification indispensable pour une large part de la main-d'oeuvre. Or, des recherches démontrent qu'apprendre un logiciel de traitement de texte, surtout pour les novices, s'avère une tâche difficile (Carroll et McKendree, 1987) qu'on aurait avantage à étudier tant au point de vue des moyens pédagogiques mis à la disposition des apprenants qu'au point de vue de la démarche d'apprentissage des apprenants eux-mêmes. La présente étude se veut une contribution à ces deux objets de recherche en analysant les conduites d'adultes en situation d'auto-apprentissage du traitement de texte.

CADRE THÉORIQUE

Les études exploratoires sur le fonctionnement d'adultes en situation d'apprentissage du traitement de texte ont fourni des listes impressionnantes de problèmes observés (Mack, Lewis et Carroll, 1983; Carroll et Mack; Robert, 1985; Waern, 1989): problèmes de logiciel, de documentation, problèmes environnementaux, enfin problèmes liés à l'apprenant lui-même. Il nous paraît maintenant important d'intégrer ces données dans un cadre théorique organisateur plus large qui permette d'aller plus loin dans l'analyse de la démarche d'apprentissage utilisée par les apprenants et qui nous révèle davantage les sources des problèmes rencontrés. Le modèle d'apprentissage expérientiel de Kolb (1984) constitue la toile de fond théorique à partir de laquelle nous structurons notre analyse de la démarche d'apprentissage des apprenants. Selon ce modèle, l'apprentissage se réalise essentiellement selon quatre phases qui théoriquement s'enchaînent et se perpétuent de façon spiroïdale: l'expérience concrète, l'observation réfléchie, la conceptualisation abstraite et l'expérimentation active.

En respectant la structure théorique du modèle général de Kolb, nous l'avons précisé (Chevrier, Charbonneau, 1989) principalement de trois façons: nous avons élaboré une définition pour chacune des phases, avons ajouté une supra-phase que nous nommons gestion de l'apprentissage et enfin, pour préciser encore davantage le modèle, nous avons opérationnalisé chacune des cinq phases mentionnées ci-haut en termes d'attitudes, de conduites cognitives et de conduites de gestion. Ces définitions opératoires de chacune des phases permettent l'observation fidèle (Chevrier et Charbonneau, 1991) d'apprenants en situation d'apprentissage.

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QUESTION ET OBJECTIF DE CETTE RECHERCHE

Selon ce modèle, nous postulons que l'utilisation de toutes les phases et des conduites associées à chacune d'elles correspondrait au fonctionnement d'apprentissage le plus efficace. Cet aspect normatif du modèle permet de poser, entre autres, la question qui nous concerne ici: le modèle tel qu'opérationnalisé permet-il de décrire la démarche d'apprentissage manifestée par l'apprenant en situation d'appropriation du traitement de texte? Plus spécifiquement, nous voulons analyser la démarche d'apprentissage de sujets au moment d'effectuer quelques consignes de la partie expérientielle d'une formation au traitement de texte.

MÉTHODOLOGIE

1- Schème de recherche: Il s'agit essentiellement d'une recherche descriptive.

2- Les sujets: Quatre étudiantes adultes volontaires fréquentant un centre d'éducation aux adultes ont été retenues pour l'observation. Ces étudiantes dont la moyenne d'âge est de 38 ans commencent un cours de 180 heures en traitement de texte offert dans le cadre d'un programme de formation professionnelle qui mène à un diplôme d'études commerciales secondaire au Québec. Ces quatre apprenantes (#1, 2, 3, et 4 que nous identifions ici comme Claire, Mariette, Sylvie et Gisèle) sont ainsi classées par la formatrice: les sujets 1 et 2 sont jugées fortes alors que les apprenantes 3 et 4 sont classées moyenne et faible respectivement. Ce classement fut fait à l'aide d'un questionnaire complété par la formatrice qui guide ces sujets depuis quelques semaines dans l'apprentissage du traitement de texte. Ce questionnaire permettait de juger la force des étudiantes à partir de critères tels que: vitesse d'apprentissage, fréquence des demandes d'aide au formateur et aux collègues, fréquence des demandes d'aide pour les mêmes explications, rapidité de compréhension des explications, et nombre de reprises aux examens après chaque module d'apprentissage. Ce classement, bien que demeurant subjectif, car on pourrait arriver à un ordre différent selon d'autres critères ou d'autres juges, vise d'abord à nous assurer que nous avions un groupe hétérogène en termes de fonctionnement face à l'apprentissage de cette technologie. Du point de vue du succès dans leurs études, ces apprenantes sont considérées comme équivalentes, compte tenue qu'elle ont toutes réussi les tests de contrôle précédents. Bien que Claire et Mariette ait un peu d'expérience avec le traitement de texte, toutes sont novices vis-à-vis la tâche d'apprentissage des tabulations avec WP, version 5.0.

3- La tâche d'apprentissage
3.1 Le contexte: La formation au traitement de texte est dispensée dans le cadre d'une méthode d'apprentissage individualisée et structurée en 24 modules rassemblés en trois cahiers d'apprentissage (Béchard,1990). A la fin de chaque module, l'apprenant subit un examen. En cas d'échec, il doit refaire les modules dans lesquels il manifeste une faiblesse et se présenter à un nouvel examen, et ce jusqu'à ce qu'il réussisse. Dans ce contexte, le formateur agit presqu'exclusivement en tant que guide à l'apprentissage: il répond aux questions et aux demandes d'aide des apprenants. La formation se déroule en groupe; chaque apprenant chemine à son rythme ayant à sa disposition un ordinateur, un cahier d'exercices, le logiciel de traitement de texte et une imprimante.

3.2 La tâche étudiée: La tâche d'apprentissage utilisée durant la présente recherche fut l'initiation à la tabulation. Cette tâche est essentiellement structurée en deux parties: a) une partie **théorique** où sont définis la fonction et les divers types de tabulation et où sont résumées les diverses procédures pour cette fonction. Dès la partie théorique, l'apprenant peut commencer, sans qu'on l'y invite, à expérimenter de lui-même avec le logiciel et constater à l'écran les résultats de diverses notions théoriques; b) une partie **pratique** où l'apprenant, par des exercices guidés, doit faire diverses applications de la fonction tabulation avec le logiciel.

4- Les procédures d'enregistrement: Les étudiantes, au moment d'apprendre les tabulations, se présentaient individuellement dans une salle où on trouvait les ressources matérielles et humaines similaires à celles de la classe. Une assistante de recherche qui au préalable avait assisté la formatrice en salle de classe et avait aidé personnellement chacune des volontaires était à sa disposition à titre de formatrice. Son rôle consistait à répondre aux questions des étudiantes et à les dépanner en cas difficultés importantes. Les sessions de formation furent enregistrées sur bandes vidéoscopiques à l'aide de deux caméras: l'une pour le sujet, et l'autre pour l'écran. En cours d'enregistrement, on demandait à l'apprenant de décrire verbalement leur fonctionnement d'apprentissage selon la technique de *verbalisation concomitantes* (Caverni, 1988). L'assistante, par des questions, les aidait, lorsque nécessaire, à maintenir la verbalisation. Une période de rodage à ces procédures d'enregistrement fut allouée à chaque apprenante avant l'enregistrement des sessions à étudier.

5- Instrument de mesure: Des protocoles d'exécution et des protocoles verbaux constitués à partir des enregistrements des sessions d'apprentissage sont analysés à l'aide d'une grille d'identification des phases de l'apprentissage expérientiel appliquée par des juges entraînés. Une étude (Chevrier, Charbonneau, 1991) a démontré que l'application de cette grille permet d'atteindre un coefficient Kappa de fidélité interjuge de .94 et une moyenne intra-juge de .96.

6- Traitement des données: Dans le cadre du présent article, nous analysons la démarche expérientielle d'apprentissage en fonction des ressemblances et des écarts entre les **phases manifestées** par les apprenantes et les **phases théoriquement attendues**. L'analyse des protocoles à l'aide de la grille d'identification des phases d'apprentissage expérientiel permet d'identifier les phases manifestées par les sujets dans le déroulement de leur apprentissage. Une phase théoriquement attendue est celle qui est explicitement ou implicitement suggérée par le contenu et la formulation d'une consigne ou d'une partie de consigne. Le tableau 1 présente les phases théoriquement attendues pour chacune des consignes 19 à 21 de l'exercice 49.

DESCRIPTION DES RÉSULTATS

Les résultats présentés au tableau 2 est le fruit de l'analyse des démarches d'apprentissage réalisées par les quatre apprenantes à l'occasion de l'exécution des consignes 19 à 21 de l'exercice 49 qui porte sur les tabulations. Nous choisissons ces trois consignes parce qu'elles constituent, de par leur contenu et leur formulation, le moment d'apprentissage le plus guidé et le pus structuré en fonction des quatre phases théoriquement attendues du modèle: l'expérience concrète (EC), l'observation réfléchie (OR), la conceptualisation abstraite (CA) et l'expérimentation active (EA). Bien que l'apprenant puisse produire en tout temps durant son apprentissage toutes les phases du modèle, c'est théoriquement le moment le plus favorable dans cet exercice pour voir apparaître un cycle complet d'apprentissage. Qu'en est-il réellement? Que nous révèle l'analyse des démarches d'apprentissage des quatre apprenantes observées?

Claire: (apprenante 1, classée forte)   Suite à une lecture partielle de la consigne 19, Claire fait une tentative infructueuse de la réaliser (EC). Ayant évalué sommairement la situation (ECg), elle ne prend pas le temps d'observer la situation pour en retirer des informations pertinentes. Ayant demandé de l'aide à la personne-ressource qui lui indique ce qu'elle doit relire, elle complète l'exécution de la consigne. L'évaluation du résultat de l'action est sommaire (ECg). Elle ne manifeste pas la connaissance du concept "début de document", un préalable nécessaire à la compréhension et à l'exécution autonome de la consigne; elle ne cherche pas ou ne demande pas non plus d'explication. Invitée par la personne-ressource à décrire ce qu'elle peut observer [OR] à l'écran, elle décrit l'erreur faite plus haut et interprète son résultat en demeurant au niveau de l'expérience particulière et immédiate. L'observation réfléchie théoriquement attendue ne se matérialise qu'avec la sollicitation de la personne-ressource. En ce qui a trait à la conceptualisation abstraite théoriquement suscitée par la présence de l'énoncé d'une règle à la fin de la consigne, Claire n'y fait aucunement allusion et elle passe immédiatement à une nouvelle consigne. Nous n'avons donc pas d'évidence qu'elle ait réalisé un apprentissage d'ordre conceptuel. Enfin, la réalisation des consignes 20 et 21 se fait sans que les EA théoriquement attendues soient manifestées: Claire, demeurant très proche de l'exécution (EC) des consignes, ne fait que confirmer le résultat immédiat de l'action (ECg) et ne fait pas allusion à la manifestation des effets de la règle en application.

Mariette: (apprenante 2, classée forte)   Aidée par la personne-ressource qui lui fait observer qu'elle n'a pas les conditions préalables à la réalisation de la consigne 19 (le document requis a été inconsciemment effacé), Mariette corrige ([EC]) partiellement la situation et produit (EC) un résultat qui ressemble à celui exigé par la consigne. Elle évalue (ECg) que le résultat de son action n'est pas celui attendu. La personne-ressource intervient pour l'aider à considérer ([OR]) divers aspects du problème et à corriger certaines informations entrées au clavier. Mariette observe (OR) le résultat corrigé et pose une question générale (/AC) à la personne-ressource pour mieux comprendre cette situation problématique particulière et d'autres situations analogues. Elle accueille favorablement l'explication générale donnée. Elle ne manifeste pas l'observation réfléchie attendue. La lecture de la règle à la fin

Tableau I: Phases théoriquement attendues, contenus et démarche d'apprentissage

#	CONSIGNE	PHASE THÉORIQUE(1)	CONTENU ET DÉMARCHE D'APPRENTISSAGE
19	Déplacez le curseur au début de votre document et accédez au menu de la fonction FORMAT LIGNE.	EC	Positionner le curseur avant le code de tabulation qui a été entré au préalable par l'apprenant. (2)
	A l'option 8, il est inscrit <<0", chaque 0.5">>	OR	Observer, à partir des informations fournies par le logiciel au menu FORMAT LIGNE, que le déplacement du curseur avant le code a entraîné un retour aux valeurs implicites (par défaut) du logiciel.
	car un code affecte toujours le texte qui le suit.	CA	Comprendre la règle voulant qu'un code affecte toujours uniquement ce qui le suit.
20	Accédez à l'écran de Montrer Codes et placez le curseur au début de votre document.	EA	Validation de la règle: S'assurer que le curseur se trouve avant le code de tabulation.
21	Appuyez une fois sur <Tab>.		Taper TAB, ce qui positionne le curseur à 1.5", confirmant la règle.

Notes: 1- EC, OR, CA, et EA représentent respectivement les phases d'expérience concrète, d'observation réfléchie, de conceptualisation abstraite et d'expérimentation active.

2- Au préalable, l'apprenant a placé des arrêts de tabulation multiples (à chaque 0.3") et on lui a fait remarquer qu'à l'option 8 du menu FORMAT LIGNE, il était indiqué <<3", chaque 0.3">>.

Tableau II: Les phases théoriquement évoquées par consigne et les phases effectivement observées en cours d'apprentissage chez quatre apprenantes du traitement de texte

#	CONSIGNE	PHASE THÉORIQUE	PHASES OBSERVÉES APPRENANTES 1	2	3	4
19	Déplacez le curseur au début de votre document et accédez au menu de la fonction FORMAT LIGNE.	EC	EC ECg	[EC] EC	[EC] EC	EC
	A l'option 8, il est inscrit 0", EC	OR		ECg	OR	EC
	chaque 0.5"		[OR]	[OR] OR /CA		
	car un code affecte toujours le texte qui le suit.	CA	--	--	--	CA
20	Accédez à l'écran de Montrer Codes et placez le curseur au début de votre document.	EA	EC ECg	EC	EC ECg	EC
21	Appuyez une fois sur <Tab>.		EC ECg	EC	EC	EC

Note: Un g ajouté aux initiales d'une phase indique qu'une conduite de gestion est observée pendant cette phase (v.g. planifie, évalue le résultat de son action); des crochets " [ ] " indiquent que la manifestation de la phase a été suscitée par une intervention de la personne-ressource; une barre oblique " / " indique que la conceptualisation abstraite réalisée ne porte pas précisément sur l'objet d'apprentissage visé dans cette consigne.

de cette consigne est rapide et n'est pas commentée, l'apprenante passant immédiatement à la prochaine consigne. Enfin, Mariette exécute les consignes 20 et 21 d'une façon assez mécanique et sans manifester qu'elle fait une quelconque vérification de la règle générale présentée plus haut.

Sylvie: (apprenante 3, classée moyenne) Ne comprenant pas le sens de la première partie de la consigne, Sylvie demande immédiatement l'assistance de la personne-ressource. Cette dernière, par des questions et une information, lui aide à exécuter ([EC]) cette partie de la consigne. En elle-même, cette brève transaction aurait pu donner lieu à une démarche d'apprentissage beaucoup plus riche: une observation réfléchie sur les actions posées pour réaliser cette tâche et une clarification conceptuelle de l'expression "curseur au début du document" qu'elle ne paraît pas encore comprendre. Sylvie ne répète pas non plus par elle-même l'opération qu'elle a réalisée sous la guidance de la personne-ressource, se contentant d'avoir réussi l'exécution exigée. La réalisation de la deuxième partie de la consigne 19 ne se solde pas non plus par l'observation réfléchie attendue et suscitée par la consigne. Sylvie ne fait que réaliser ce qu'on lui demande de faire sans prendre de recul à l'égard de son résultat. En ce qui concerne la conceptualisation abstraite attendue, Sylvie lit la règle sans manifester qu'elle la comprend comme une conclusion qui découle de ses expériences antérieures. Les consignes 20 et 21 sont réalisées après quelques erreurs. Leur exécution (EC) paraît prendre toute l'attention de l'apprenante de sorte que cette dernière ne décolle pas de son expérience concrète.

Gisèle: (apprenante 5, classée faible) Elle exécute (EC) rapidement les trois parties de la consigne 19. Au moment où la consigne lui demande spécifiquement d'observer un résultat à l'écran, elle le constate sans manifester qu'elle fait un lien entre les informations qu'elle voit ou entre ces informations et ce qu'elle vient d'exécuter. Après la lecture de la règle générale, Gisèle la reformule en ses propres mots (CA) et, d'une façon confuse, exprime comment la règle s'applique dans la situation présente. En ce qui concerne les consignes 20 et 21, l'apprenante les réalise à la manière d'une expérience concrète sans manifester des conduites propres à l'expérimentation active.

La suite de l'exercice offrait deux autres occasions aux apprenantes de valider la règle générale présentée à la consigne 19. Nos observations ne permettent pas d'affirmer qu'elles en ont profité, les phases manifestées étant principalement l'expérience concrète et occasionnellement l'observation réfléchie.

QUELQUES CONCLUSIONS

Le modèle tel que nous l'avons opérationnalisé nous permet d'observer plusieurs aspects de la démarche d'apprentissage de ces apprenantes en traitement de texte.

1- Là où la consigne incitait à faire une expérience concrète, les apprenantes ont répondu à l'invitation. Toutefois, leur démarche dans cette phase n'est pas sans problème:

- leur prise d'informations dans la documentation ou à l'écran est souvent partielle;
- leur compréhension des consignes et des explications dans la documentation est souvent incorrecte, ce qui laisse croire que plusieurs concepts préalables ne sont pas maîtrisés;
- au moment de réaliser l'expérience concrète, les apprenantes restent très proches de l'exécution des consignes et semblent axées sur la réalisation de la tâche et la résolution des problèmes que cette réalisation engendre; leur action est souvent dictée par une stratégie de type "essai et erreur" sans une logique préalable;
- leur évaluation des résultats de l'action ne dépasse souvent pas la simple constatation de l'apparition des effets prévus par la consigne, ce qui ne les amène pas à s'interroger sur le sens de ces effets;
- le recours à la personne-ressource est souvent hâtif et lorsqu'il se fait, l'intérêt principal paraît être de résoudre un problème immédiat et moins de le comprendre.

2- On observe chez deux des quatre apprenantes quelques rares moments d' observation réfléchie. Seule Mariette a manifesté d'elle-même une observation réfléchie au moment où la consigne l'incitait théoriquement à cette conduite. Les autres OR observées ont été produites avec l'assistance de la personne-ressource. Cette rareté de l'observation réfléchie indique le peu de recul que prennent les apprenantes à l'égard de l'expérience concrète et des informations qui résultent de leur action. Cette absence de recul les prive de la possibilité de faire des liens et des comparaisons ou de dégager des ressemblances. En somme, peu de manifestation de réflexion sur l'action, démarche essentielle à l'émergence des conceptualisations abstraites.

3- Seule une apprenante a manifesté la production d'une conceptualisation abstraite au moment où cette conduite était théoriquement suscitée par la consigne: reprenant à son compte la règle fournie par la consigne, elle s'en sert pour interpréter la situation particulière d'apprentissage. Mariette fait un énoncée qui manifeste une conceptualisation abstraite juste avant la lecture de la règle, mais le contenu de cet énoncé porte sur un autre objet d'apprentissage que celui prévu par la consigne. Ailleurs dans l'extrait analysé, on observe un discours principalement orienté vers la description de l'action et des procédures reliées à des situations particulières.

4- Enfin, absence de manifestation d'expérimentation active. Cette phase que nous définissons comme essentiellement axée vers la vérification, la validation ou le ré-investissement critique des savoirs dégagés des phases précédentes paraît faire défaut chez ces apprenantes. La réussite à exécuter la consigne paraît suffisante, aux yeux de ces apprenantes, pour garantir la validité de leur apprentissage.

Ces observations que nous permet l'utilisation du modèle d'apprentissage expérientiel opérationnalisé nous semblent d'une très grande importance pour la compréhension du savoir-apprendre des adultes en situation d'apprentissage du traitement de texte et renforcent notre conviction qu'une telle analyse pourra servir pour la formation des formateurs, l'élaboration de programmes d'auto-didactes structurés en fonction des phases proposées par le modèle.

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LE RÉSEAU CONCEPTUEL COMME TECHNIQUE D'ÉVALUATION EN ÉDUCATION DES ADULTES

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Résumé: La technique du réseau conceptuel est de plus en plus utilisée, tant en enseignement qu'en apprentissage. Compte tenu de son efficacité en contexte d'évaluation formative des apprenants, cette technique devrait figurer parmi les moyens utilisés en éducation des adultes. L'approche de Novak et Gowin (1984) est suggérée comme cadre de référence.

Abstract: Concept mapping is used more and more, both in teaching and learning. Because of its efficiency in the formative evaluation of learners, this technique should be present among those used in adult education. The approach developped by Novak and Gowin (1984) is suggested as a frame of reference.

Le but de la communication est de présenter et d'illustrer la technique du réseau conceptuel comme moyen pour mesurer les connaissances déclaratives d'un apprenant adulte. Le réseau conceptuel a été utilisé comme stratégie d'apprentissage et comme stratégie d'enseignement. Comme stratégie d'apprentissage, il a été employé pour améliorer la compréhension de textes et la rétention d'informations, l'analyse et l'organisation des informations à communiquer et la résolution de problème. Comme stratégie d'enseignement, il a été utilisé pour développer une leçon, structurer une présentation, introduire le contenu d'un cours et son organisation et pour évaluer les connaissances acquises et leur niveau d'intégration. C'est ce dernier point que nous voulons développer dans la présente communication.

1. L'évaluation des apprentissages en éducation des adultes

L'évaluation des apprentissages est l'opération de porter un jugement sur l'état des connaissances d'un individu au cours de son processus d'apprentissage. On parle alors d'évaluation diagnostique avant l'apprentissage, d'évaluation formative pendant l'apprentissage et d'évaluation sommative après l'apprentissage. Dans tous les cas, il faut poser la question du QUOI évaluer et du COMMENT évaluer. L'évaluation implique donc une démarche ayant pour but de connaître le savoir de l'apprenant, et ce de la manière la plus valide possible. On peut considérer connaître dans le sens de «prendre connaissance» des connaissances de l'apprenant comme cela est fait dans le contexte d'examens objectifs où l'on va «puiser» ces connaissances par des questions. L'apprenant doit rappeler certaines connaissances très spécifiques pour les «fournir» à l'évaluateur. Ce type d'évaluation s'inscrit tout à fait dans le cadre d'un modèle d'apprentissage behavioriste où la relation apprise se fonde sur une association entre un stimulus (la question) et un comportement (la réponse). Par contre, si l'on veut inscrire l'évaluation dans le cadre d'une approche cognitiviste où l'expression «connaître» les connaissances de l'apprenant signifie «construire avec lui» et où la relation apprise se fonde sur un lien significatif entre des unités de sens (par exemple des concepts), d'autres outils ou techniques d'évaluation tels que le réseau conceptuel doivent être envisagés. L'absence fréquente d'évaluation

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systématique des apprentissages en éducation des adultes réside, selon Brookfield (1986, p.262), dans l'absence d'un modèle d'évaluation fondé sur des caractéristiques émanant d'une conception de l'andragogie et de l'apprentissage adulte telles que la participation et la collaboration de l'apprenant dans cette évaluation. Ce que l'on retrouve dans des techniques plus qualitatives d'entrevues et d'observation et moins dans des techniques du type questionnaire objectif. Les examens à choix multiple, pratiques pour une évaluation collective, se prêtent mal à une interaction individuelle avec l'apprenant dans le cadre d'une évaluation, formative ou autre. Si ces tests mesurent bien le contenu des connaissances, ils permettent difficilement d'en comprendre la structure (Mitchell et Chi, 1986). Le réseau notionnel, par contre, répond bien à de tels objectifs d'interaction entre formateur et apprenant en vue de «connaître» certains éléments de la structure cognitive de l'apprenant.

D'autre part, ces outils d'évaluation, dits objectifs, laissent souvent à désirer quand vient le temps de connaître véritablement «les connaissances de l'apprenant adulte». On a aussi besoin d'outils qui donnent des informations plus nuancées qu'une réponse à quelques questions. La structure relationnelle entre concepts demeure difficile, voire impossible à mesurer avec ce type d'instruments. La quantité d'informations demeure minimale lorsqu'elle se résume à un total de bonnes réponses sans connaissance des raisons qui ont motivé l'apprenant à mettre sa réponse, partie la plus importante de la réponse, non seulement pour l'apprenant mais aussi pour le formateur désireux de connaître ses apprenants. Certains formateurs ne se sentent pas à l'aise de passer à l'entrevue individuelle comme outil d'évaluation car leur stratégie de connaissance des connaissances de l'apprenant risque de se réduire encore une fois à des questions très spécifiques où la signification d'ensemble recherchée disparaît. Par contre le réseau conceptuel, inséré dans le cadre d'une entrevue d'évaluation, constitue un outil simple, mais puissant, pour faire émerger la structuration des connaissances de l'apprenant. Au terme de la rencontre, il reste un produit concret auquel le formateur et l'apprenant peuvent référer dans le futur.

2. Notion de connaissances

La psychologie cognitive établit une distinction qui apparaît de plus en plus importante en éducation entre connaissances déclaratives et connaissances procédurales. Les connaissances déclaratives sont représentées par des propositions et se regroupent en réseaux pour donner du sens. Elles correspondent à la connaissance des objets, des concepts et des idées et se manifestent par le langage. Les connaissances procédurales, par contre, sont représentées par des procédures qui se regroupent en systèmes pour agir plus efficacement. Elles correspondent aux habiletés et aux compétences, intellectuelles ou motrices, et se manifestent dans leur application dans une situation spécifique (Gagné, 1985). Compte tenu de ces développements, il faut adapter nos façons de «mesurer» les connaissances des apprenants. Même dans un contexte d'apprentissage de connaissances procédurales tel que celui de la formation au traitement de texte, l'acquisition de connaissances déclaratives en fait partie intégrante (Gagné, 1985; Charney et Reder, 1987). Dans ce contexte, le réseau conceptuel apparaît un outil avantageux pour «connaître» les connaissances déclaratives des apprenants.

3. Le réseau conceptuel

Un réseau conceptuel est «un moyen pour représenter schématiquement un ensemble de concepts dans leur cadre propositionnel» (Novak et Gowin, 1984). La proposition est définie par l'ensemble de mots dont au moins deux représentent des concepts et les autres le lien qui les relie pour former une unité sémantique. Le réseau conceptuel élaboré par un apprenant est considéré constituer une représentation de l'organisation mentale de concepts et de propositions dans sa structure cognitive. Dans cette optique, il peut être considéré comme un moyen de représenter concrètement les connaissances déclaratives d'un apprenant à tout moment d'une démarche d'apprentissage.

La validité concourante de cette technique pour mesurer la structuration des connaissances a été établie en montrant un isomorphisme significatif entre les résultats obtenus avec le réseau conceptuel et ceux obtenus à un test d'association de mots chez des étudiants en physique au secondaire (Jonassen, 1987). D'autre part, Stahan (1989) a pu montrer que les réseaux conceptuels d'enseignants expérimentés sont significativement plus complexes que ceux des enseignants novices.

Le réseau conceptuel constitue une forme de représentation graphique parmi plusieurs. Le vocabulaire n'est malheureusement pas constant mais l'approche de Novak et Gowin (1984) semble actuellement la plus fondée théoriquement et expérimentalement. Nous présentons ici quelques exemples de variations dans la manière de nommer différents types de représentation graphique:
Réseau d'Idées: Spider map (Jones *et al.*, 1989; Pehrsson et Denner, 1989), Mapping (Twinning, 1991); **Sequential Flow chart**: Series of events chain (Jones *et al.*, 1989), Problem/Solution Outline (Jones *et al.*, 1989), Human Interaction Outline (Jones *et al.*, 1989), Flowcharting (Twinning, 1991), Episodic Organizer (Pehrsson et Denner, 1989); **Tableau à double entrée**: Compare/Contrast Matrix (Jones *et al.*, 1989); **Réseau conceptuel**: Network Tree (Jones *et al.*, 1989), Concept mapping (Novak et Gowin, 1984); **Semantic mapping** (Twinning, 1991); **Fishbone Map** (Jones *et al.*, 1989); **Cycle** (Jones *et al.*, 1989).

4. Les applications du réseau conceptuel

Le réseau conceptuel apparaît comme une technique puissante et versatile. On lui voit beaucoup d'utilisations, tant du point de vue de l'apprenant que de l'enseignant (voir Jonassen, 1987; Novak et Gowin, 1984). Elle a été appliquée avec succès au primaire (Novak et Gowin, 1984), au secondaire (Jonassen, 1987; Novak *et al.*, 1983) et au post-secondaire (Aaronson, 1985; Beyerbach, 1988; Carrell *et al.*, 1989 Geyer, 1987).

Comme application spécifiques à l'enseignement, on a suggéré de l'utiliser: pour l'évaluation diagnostique et formative (Carrell *et al.*, 1989; Jonassen, 1987; Novak & Gowin, 1984), comme source d'information pour planifier des interventions (Jonassen, 1987), comme organisateur préliminaire visuel (Jonassen, 1987) comme technique d'analyse de tâche (Foshay, 1983; Jonassen, 1987). Comme applications spécifiques à l'apprentissage, on a suggéré de l'utiliser: comme stratégie d'organisation et d'intégration des notes (Jonassen, 1987; Twining, 1991), de lecture et d'écriture (Pehrsson et Denner, 1989).

Cette technique du réseau conceptuel est recommandée, dans l'élaboration d'un système-expert, aux «ingénieurs de connaissance» lors de leurs entrevues avec les experts pour définir et cerner le domaine de connaissances (McGraw & Harbison-Briggs, 1989, p.139).

On a démontré l'efficacité du réseau conceptuel comme stratégie d'apprentissage et comme stratégie d'enseignement. Comme stratégie d'apprentissage, on a montré, en lecture, qu'il peut aider à améliorer la compréhension des textes et la rétention d'informations (secondaire: Ruddell et Boyle, 1989; universitaire: Carrell *et al.*, 1989), en composition, à titre de technique de pré-écriture, qu'il peut aider à améliorer les habiletés d'analyse et d'organisation des informations à communiquer (Ruddell et Boyle, 1989) et, enfin, en physique (secondaire) à améliorer la résolution de problèmes (Novak *et al.*, 1983).

Comme stratégie d'enseignement, on a démontré son efficacité pour structurer une présentation ou un cours, pour introduire le contenu d'un cours et son organisation (post-secondaire: Kleg, 1986) et pour évaluer les connaissances acquises et leur niveau d'intégration (secondaire: Jonassen, 1987).

Dans la formation des maîtres, le réseau conceptuel a été utilisé pour connaître et évaluer la représentation de didacticiels que se faisaient des étudiants-maîtres afin d'identifier de fausses conceptions ou des trous dans les connaissances et ainsi établir une relation entre la qualité des réseaux ainsi construits et la qualité de l'exploitation du logiciel faite en classe par l'étudiant-maître (Geyer, 1987). Beyerbach (1988) a utilisé le réseau conceptuel pour mesurer, qualitativement et quantitativement, la «croissance» des connaissances d'étudiants-maîtres relativement à la planification pédagogique. Les résultats montrèrent une amélioration dans l'organisation des concepts, dans la différenciation des concepts ainsi que dans l'accent mis sur le processus même de planification.

Dans son chapitre sur l'*évaluation de l'apprentissage et de sa facilitation*, Brookfield (1986) mentionne plusieurs techniques telles que l'incident critique, l'observation participante, l'entrevue en profondeur, mais ne mentionne nullement celle du réseau conceptuel qui pourrait facilement s'insérer dans la liste proposée. Gold (1984) suggère que le réseau conceptuel pourrait être un outil de lecture efficace pour les adultes analphabètes. Mais aucune référence explicite à l'utilisation du réseau conceptuel (SEMANTIC-MAPPING OU COGNITIVE-MAPPING) en recherche ou en enseignement en éducation des adultes (ADULT EDUCATION; ADULT-LEARNING; ANDRAGOGY; CONTINUING-EDUCATION; LIFELONG-LEARNING) dans la banque Eric de 1976 à décembre 1991 (alors qu'on peut en retrouver au primaire (27 et 20), au secondaire (29 et 40) et au post-secondaire (7 et 73).

5. L'approche de Joseph Novak et Bob Gowin

Novak et Gowin (1984) ont développé la technique du réseau conceptuel pour avoir un moyen de rendre compte des apprentissages cognitifs de leurs sujets. Avec les tests objectifs et les examens traditionnels, ils ne rendaient pas justice à la richesse des changements qui se produisaient chez les sujets étudiés et ont remis en question la validité de tels outils pour mesurer les connaissances des sujets.
En prenant pour cadre théorique l'approche de David Ausubel sur l'apprentissage signifiant, Novak et Gowin (1984) visent trois éléments dans leur évaluation: la structure hiérarchique des concepts (inclusion des concepts), la différenciation progressive des concepts et la réconciliation intégrative de groupes de concepts.

Les étapes de l'évaluation des connaissances à l'aide d'un réseau conceptuel sont, selon Novak *et al.* (1983): 1) identifier les concepts importants dans le contenu à apprendre, 2) construire un réseau conceptuel «idéal», 3) établir le score «idéal» à partir de ce réseau conceptuel, 4) utiliser ce réseau conceptuel comme référence pour évaluer le réseau conceptuel de l'apprenant, 5) établir le score du réseau conceptuel de l'apprenant (il pourrait s'avérer que le score de l'apprenant soit plus élevé si ce dernier a réalisé un meilleur réseau que le réseau de référence). Les exigences de confection du réseau par l'apprenant sont: que le réseau soit hiérarchique, que tous les liens soient identifiés et que tous les liens horizontaux soient indiqués (Novak et Gowin, 1984, p.105). Cette technique, qui vise essentiellement une évaluation qualitative, peut se prêter au besoin à la quantification et fournir un indice chiffré des connaissances déclaratives de l'apprenant. Les éléments évalués sont: les niveaux de hiérarchie, les relations verticales, les relations horizontales et les exemples le cas échéant. La clef de correction demeure arbitraire bien que Novak et Gowin (1984) aient développé une procédure optimale.

Novak et Gowin (1984) mentionnent plusieurs caractéristiques et fonctions intéressantes du réseau conceptuel. Celles que nous mentionnons nous paraissent particulièrement pertinentes pour l'éducation des adultes. L'utilisation du réseau conceptuel permet de visualiser le sens donné aux concepts, rend l'apprentissage plus significatif, permet d'échanger de manière organisée sur le contenu d'apprentissage (le partage et la négotiation du sens), facilite une démarche métacognitive en faisant ressortir les idées fausses sans menacer l'apprenant, permet de manipuler des concepts et des relations comme des objets concrets et enfin extériorise et rend l'apprenant plus conscient de l'intégration des concepts. En conservant ses réseaux antérieurs, l'apprenant peut voir son évolution. L'enseignant, d'un seul coup d'oeil peut évaluer la compréhension de ces apprenants.

Dans le cadre d'une recherche auprès d'adultes en formation au traitement de texte, nous avons utilisé cette technique pour évaluer la compréhension et l'intégration des concepts des apprenantes après une leçon sur les «arrêts de tabulation». Voici quelques observations:

- Spontanément, les apprenantes posaient des questions et cherchaient à discuter avec la personne-ressource lorsqu'elles n'arrivaient pas à agencer deux ou trois concepts.
- Des interrogations sur des relations lointaines entre concepts sont apparues spontanément lorsqu'une apprenante avait de la difficulté à agencer deux concepts.
- Certaines apprenantes ont éprouvé de la difficulté à organiser les concepts de manière hiérarchique. Elles organisaient les concepts en séquence, selon les opérations à suivre pour effectuer la fonction apprise.

6. Conclusion

Les résultats montrent donc que cette technique, peu connue en éducation des adultes, aurait avantage à l'être et pourrait devenir un instrument utile et profitable autant en enseignement qu'en recherche en éducation des adultes. La réalisation d'un réseau conceptuel par l'apprenant, peut s'avérer une technique puissante d'évaluation, autant formative que sommative. En permettant de mettre rapidement en lumière, non seulement les concepts connus de l'apprenant, mais aussi les relations qu'il construit entre ces concepts, la technique du réseau conceptuel permet à l'enseignant de suivre de près le cheminement d'apprentissage de ses étudiants adultes et d'évaluer le niveau d'intégration des notions apprises. Cette technique peut aussi être utilisée dans un contexte de recherche comme mesure des connaissances déclaratives en parallèle à des mesures de connaissances procédurales.

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ADVOCACY: A CRITICAL ISSUE IN UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

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Abstract

This paper discusses the role of advocacy in university extension work. It explores some reasons for the decline of this role and looks at possibilities for reviving an advocacy approach in the future.

Ce travail traite du rôle de défenseur de cause dans l'Education permanente de l'Université. Il explore certaines raisons expliquant le déclin de ce rôle et les possibilités de le raviver à l'avenir.

Introduction

Adult education is filled with conflict and controversy. Adult educators have different values and backgrounds and they work in a variety of roles. Today, a debate rages between two distinct types of adult educators: those who see adult education as a vehicle for social change, and those who view adult education as a business.

On the entrepreneurial side of the debate, adult education is a business where educators compete for new markets and clients. Adult education programs are designed for (a) business, industry and professional organizations, and (b) people who can pay.

On the social change side of the debate, adult education is viewed as a means to promote social justice in society. Adult educators believe that university extension must move beyond the course approach and include a strong commitment to social change work. Social change-oriented adult educators place high value on "promoting goals such as peace, equity, justice, and quality of life for all humans" (Cunningham, 1989, p. 41), and try to work with people who cannot pay.

What critical issues do social change-oriented university extension staff experience in their work? How do they deal with these issues? How can we raise awareness to the importance of these issues in our everyday practice?

These questions form Phase 3 of a longer-term research project. Using a standard qualitative research approach, and working from a social change perspective, I conducted taped interviews with a number of university extension staff over a three year period. The interviews were conducted as follows:

1. In 1989 (Phase 1), I interviewed 18 staff (six women and 12 men) from nine university extension departments.
2. In 1990 (Phase 2), I interviewed 10 staff (six women and four men) from six university extension departments.
3. In 1991 (Phase 3), I interviewed seven staff (two women and five men) from five university extension departments.

All participants approached extension work from a social change perspective. Some were interviewed in more than one phase. All participants have been given pseudonyms in an attempt to protect their identity.

The Issue

One issue that emerged from the interviews focuses on the role of advocacy within university extension departments. Historically, many extension departments have played a strong advocacy role. The Antigonish Movement, the Fogo Island process, and the Centre for Community Studies are prime examples of such work. However, for the most part, advocacy is no longer a function of extension. Jim says:

> One of the issues I experience centers around the word "advocacy" and the position of the university on issues of advocacy. I have gotten into some difficulties sometimes in the past over stepping over a line that has been rather arbitrarily drawn by a boss or a dean where I have developed a program that seems more like advocacy than education. There is a funny distinction there as well.
>
> I work in [name deleted] education a lot and so I get involved with social justice issues where it's very easy to become an advocate, to feel that the issue is so clear, the rightness or wrongness of one side or the other, that to try to pretend some false objectivity is just impossible. But there are people who represent the university who insist that be done in some way.

For Keith, the issue is one of advocating for and with marginalized groups. He says:

> The struggle is how do we create a little more justice and fairness for those who lose out continually? Because often they do not have the resources to be able to help themselves.

Brock mentioned that, whenever he engages in political work[1], he is expected to do it "on his own time" -- outside his job. In addition, he is expected to explain to people in the community that he is doing this work on his own time, and that this is not part of his work with the university. However, even though he complies, he knows his political/advocacy work is frowned upon. In his role at extension, he is expected to be "non-political" and "objective." But what does "non-political" and "objective" mean? Cunningham (1988) argues that when adult educators claim to be apolitical:

> It is a professional way of making one of the most political statements one can make. Because what one says when one declares neutrality (or objectivity) is that one is quite satisfied with the present organization of social relationships and the distribution of resources in the society. Those who "have" in society rarely see the need for change as clearly as those who "have not." Accordingly, one could argue that we professionals invent such ideas as scientific objectivity and professionalism to sanitize our basic desires and tendencies to maintain inequality, racism, sexism, and classism since we are satisfied, on balance, with our "share of the pie." (p. 136)

Brock continues:

> I was approached during the last federal election campaign to run as a candidate. Some of the people in the field discouraged me from running. They said that for someone in my position that does the work that I do, to be identified with a particular political party would be counter-productive.
>
> People I respect (told) me that I shouldn't put myself in the position of being a candidate for the NDP because that puts me in a position where it may limit the effectiveness of the work that I do with broad-based community groups.

> I took that advice to heart. To be aligned with a political party would be a value statement. For someone in my line of work, that may be going to far to one side.

Brock says, "There seems to be no place in the department, at the present time, for advocacy work." He goes on to say, "If I'm expressing any type of advocacy position, I shouldn't speak as a member of the department. I should speak as an individual." However, isn't this the antithesis of the roots of extension work? Doesn't this go against the concept of academic freedom? Should university extension staff be expected to stifle their views?

The Context

Two factors have contributed to the demise of the advocacy role within extension departments, (a) the values of the university, and (b) the professionalization of the adult education field.

Values of the university

Extension staff work within a larger context--the university--and the university places boundaries around the type of work that occurs in extension. Cevero (1989) is clear about this when he says:

> The primary context for adult and continuing educators is provided by the institutional context in which they practice. Educators are not independent agents developing programs in ways they alone believe to be most appropriate. Rather, their conception of a target audience, how best to serve it, and what resources are available is conditioned by their particular institutional contexts. Their work is conducted within a discretionary framework set up by the goals and resources of the agency where they work. (p. 111)

Historically, universities have cultivated an elitist and conservative image. Their focus has been on dispensing knowledge to the sons and daughters of the elite, not on engaging in social justice work. Heaney and Horton (1990) argue that the interests of universities conflict with the interests of marginalized groups. They suggest that "schools and universities adopt narrowly defined missions that serve society's dominant agenda and preserve the status quo" (p. 95). Colin speaks to this when he discusses the role of his university in the area of literacy. He says:

> We haven't been able to establish a university policy or convince the President to take a stand on literacy. To me, that's the type of work we should be doing. We should be getting the university to take a stand on literacy. The university should give some leadership to it. Our traditional image really constrains it. When you bring up the issue of literacy, it's ruled out as something that can't be discussed. It's a tough struggle getting those issues raised within the university setting.

During the past decade, universities have experienced severe financial cuts. Because government money has declined, universities now look to business and industry for funds. This has resulted in a significant shift in the direction of the universities--from a liberal arts tradition to a market education model.

In their search for dollars, universities try not to offend their funding sources. Consequently, they tend to abdicate their advocacy role. Most stress the need for "balance" and "neutrality." But what do the terms "balance" and "neutrality" mean? Aren't these simply forces for preserving society as is rather than attempting to change it?

The need for "balance" filters down to extension departments. Because they are an integral part of the university, extension departments must maintain good relationships with the university administration. Consequently, they tend to adopt the values of the university, at the expense of advocacy. As Rockhill (1983) stresses, "extension cannot expect to survive while adhering to a different set of values than the mainstream of the University" (p. 207).

Professionalization of the field

Over the last few decades, the field of adult education has "professionalized" (Fisher & Podeschi, 1989; Selman, 1984, 1987), a trend which has raised concerns among some adult educators--concerns that have been discussed by Selman and Dampier (1991). The 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s were times of change. Adult education was a movement which challenged society. However, in the 1950s and 1960s, the field began to professionalize. With the influx of federal training dollars in the 1960s and 1970s, the focus slowly shifted from programs designed to benefit society as a whole, to courses designed to increase the skills and marketability of individuals.

Adult education training programs expanded and associations flourished. Adult education "careers" gained importance (Selman & Dampier, 1991), a move that I believe has had a negative impact on (a) the composition of university extension departments, and (b) the direction of these departments.

The dominant values within extension departments now focus on individualism, specialization, competition, career, and objectivity. Most adult educators who support an advocacy role have left extension departments for more socially relevant and rewarding work. The majority of extension staff who remain now embrace the dominant values. In keeping with the "careerist" image, there is a tendency to try to "fit into" and advance within the university. A "don't rock the boat" mentality permeates extension work, a mentality that is not conducive to an advocacy role.

Heaney and Horton (1990) clearly blame the adult educators who work in universities for the current situation. They say:

> By training, adult educators themselves are ill disposed to support resistance and transformative action and hence are likely to keep more "respectable" company. Underlying the professionalization of adult educators is a functionalist model in which the preservation and maintenance of the stability and immutability of the social order are highly valued. Any interference in the normal equilibrium of society is assumed to jeopardize not only the social order but, more important, the improving social and economic status of professional educators. (p. 95)

Effect of the Decline of the Advocacy Role

For the most part, the advocacy role has been eliminated from extension work. Because advocacy work is incongruent with both (a) the values of the university, and (b) the professionalization of the field, it obtains support from neither source. Extension staff who engage in advocacy work tend to be marginalized within their departments. Their work is denigrated. An example of this can be found in the recent events at Memorial University.

In the spring of 1991, the Extension Services Division at Memorial University was disbanded. The Continuing Studies Department was divided into four division--

Extension Services plus three others. The Extension Services Division was internationally known for its community development and advocacy work throughout Newfoundland. The other divisions followed a more traditional approach. In a session at the CAUCE (Canadian Association for University Continuing Education) Conference which was held in Halifax in June, 1991, the Dean of Continuing Studies publicly justified the closure of Extension Services. He shrugged his shoulders and stated that the Division was "outdated, living in the past, and didn't keep up with the changes in the continuing education field." He did not seem to be concerned about the closure.

An extension dean from another university mentioned to me that the Memorial Extension Services Division was "always getting into trouble," "generated a lot of complaints," and "caused embarrassment to the university." The director of a third continuing education division stated that "they weren't willing to compromise." They refused to do professional development training and insisted on maintaining a community development/advocacy focus. They wouldn't "change with the times." In short, the values of advocacy and social justice were not compatible with the new entrepreneurial values of the university and of the "profession."

When I mentioned the above comments to Donna, an extension worker in another province, she exclaimed with anger, "That's what they're saying about us!" She says:

> The accusations levelled against us are that we are self-righteous, inflexible, out of date, kind of quaint and that we hold on to an impractical ideal that has disappeared.
>
> It's interesting, because people who stand up for (social justice) values are increasingly being portrayed as weird.

Because of the shift in the direction of extension departments, from that of providing some degree of advocacy to that of bringing in money, extension departments have, for the most part, been reduced to "course mills," which, as Judith says, "pander to people who can pay." Linda says:

> I think that the overriding philosophy is the counting of anything that can be counted: money, how many people in the sessions. The question is never, "How have people's lives changed?" How can we contribute to more positive change?" "Have they taken some of the power and can now influence their own lives?" "Is there a sense of learning?" Those questions are never asked. It's count whatever can be counted. How much money? How many students?

Conclusion

I believe that open spaces can be found in universities so that extension departments can once again become actively involved in advocacy work. Both Rockhill (1983) and Pittman (1989) are very clear when they state that adult education is driven by the need to generate profits. As Pittman (1989) says, "funding opportunities and probabilities have often influenced--or controlled--the direction and content of programming" (p. 20).

For the last decade, with conservative governments at the federal and many provincial levels, funding has been directed by a conservative, business agenda. However, we now have four NDP governments in Canada (British Columbia, Ontario, Saskatchewan and the Yukon). Given the current economy, the universities cannot expect to obtain an influx of dollars. While funding will be limited, it is anticipated that funding priorities will shift toward education programs that fulfill social justice goals.

The climate in the broader community is beginning to change. Social justice values are, once again, gaining importance. It is up to social change oriented extension staff to take advantage of these changes. We have a responsibility to take strong advocacy roles and to promote social justice is our communities. If we fail to (a) take stands on these issues, and (b) work with marginalized groups, we simply will become "neutered" technicians who help to maintain and reproduce the existing power relationship in society.

Endnote

[1] In the case of Brock, I use the terms "advocacy" and "political" interchangeably.

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Adult Education and Training: Two Solitudes?

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ABSTRACT

This symposium considers education and training in the context of today's economic and social realities, investigates the common traditions of adult education and training, and examines some of the commonalities of practice--in teaching, in the subsequent application of learning, and in the institutional context. The symposium concludes by presenting some illustrations and implications of this argument for the Canadian context.

Le thème de ce symposium est introduit par une réflection sur l'éducation et la formation dans le contexte des réalités économiques et sociales d'aujourdhui. Suivi par une discussion portant sur les fondements communs de l'éducation et la formation des adultes, et un examen de quelqu'uns des aspects courants de la pratique--en enseignement, de l'application suivante du savoir ainsi que le contexte intellectuel. Le symposium se termine par une présentation de quelqu'unes des implications de cet argumentation pour le contexte canadien.

INTRODUCTION

One of the issues often discussed in adult education is the broadness of the field, and the extent to which many areas of research and practice, and many different viewpoints, are represented in it. Yet adult educators themselves have limited their field by excluding training. This self-imposed limitation is inappropriate in view of the theoretical foundations of adult education, various aspects of its practice, and its nature and goals in today's ever-changing environment. The existing definition of the territory, which shuns training, is neither justified nor productive.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Training has always been considered (by educators and others) to be more directly applicable to concrete work situations than education, more instrumental than idealistic, more utilitarian than concerned with cultural ends, more technical than liberal arts oriented. As a consequence, education and training are often seen as belonging to two very different realms: one aspiring to and pursuing theoretical, intellectual, humanistic and noble goals, while the other one is concerned with menial, practical, technical, non-intellectual every-day matters and pursuits. Thus, the one realm has come to be associated with higher spheres of life (hence "higher" education), with the world of libraries, campus life, academic environments, literature, white collar work, professional associations and learned societies; the other one has connotations of working (class) pursuits and interests, smoke stacks, blue collars, toil and trouble. Only when training is preceded by years of formal "education", as in the professions, is it accorded respect and status.

Although this traditional distinction and its consequences have been influential in most countries (and particularly in Europe, where social class differences have been largely defined by different levels and types of education), they have little foundation in the essential nature of learning or education. The widespread lack of interest and knowledge about training, together with its perception as non-theoretical, non-intellectual, and non-cultural -- i.e., as being purely technical and instrumental rather than contributing to personal growth, development, and empowerment -- is largely based on social grounds, ignorance, or -- mostly -- a combination of the two.

Less dogmatic and more far-sighted people from various quarters and backgrounds -- educators, trainers, industrialists, trade unionists, policy makers -- have stressed both the extensive common grounds and equivalent standing of both strands of education. They claim equal value and validity of both theory and practice, identify both the classroom and the workplace as sites of learning, and give equal importance to general knowledge and generic skills. They do not merely claim that education and training are "separate but equal" (the famous clause used by the US Supreme Court to justify the segregation of white and black schools). Rather, they call for an abolition of that separation, claiming that integration of large parts of the two systems would be feasible, desirable, and of mutual benefit. In short, there is a growing perception that the present separation is not only arbitrary, but harmful, with respect to its economic and social consequences.

TRAINING AND THE NATURE OF SKILLS

While the conception of training as an activity aimed at the acquisition of manual, technical, mechanistic-repetitive and simple mental skills might have had some validity in the early days of industrialization, it is today increasingly based on false premises. New, sophisticated technologies in the workplace are transforming the contents of jobs -- defying, to a large extent, routinized work organization and obviating its deterministic and narrowly defined approach to specifying the skills needed by workers. These developments -- more pronounced in countries such as Germany and Japan, but beginning to take root in Canada as well -- have expanded the range of workers' responsibilities, requiring from the worker both a more integrated knowledge of technical systems and stronger analytical, problem-solving, and communicative skills. Besides more general competencies, workers in a modern work environment are required to possess a number of cognitive skills and dispositional attitudes, such as the willingness to take initiative and perform independently, a competence in planning and evaluating their work (and that of others), the ability to make decisions, and an understanding of how to work with persons from different backgrounds and cultures.

Training is no longer just the acquisition of manual or technical skills. It can also determine and create a changed workplace culture. Accordingly, it should now include processes of acquiring knowledge, extra-functional skills, and values and attitudes formerly thought of as belonging in the realm of education rather than that of training. For these reasons, the old dichotomy of education and training as two solitudes is not productive and, therefore, can no longer be maintained. It is equally clear that narrowly conceived training programs, like traditional institutions and instructional methods, can no longer do the job.

THE COMMON GROUNDS OF ADULT EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Contemporary adult education theory usually seeks to distinguish between adult education and training on what are essentially "philosophical" grounds. Thus, adult education -- a field of practice concerned with assisting learners to achieve self-determination in their personal, social, and economic lives -- is diametrically opposed to adult training -- a process in which a set of previously defined skills, knowledge and behaviours are transmitted to trainees in a manner previously defined by the trainer. Formulations of this kind suggest that adult education is distinguished from training by a theory and practice of "critical reflection." Unfortunately, the normative critique implied by this definition of territory is rarely translated into a concrete program for the reform of training. Rather, it serves more often as a justification for an isolationist -- and implicitly elitist -- stance, whereby training is regarded, at best, as a worthwhile activity in its own right, or, at worst, as a necessary evil.

The rigid dichotomy thus drawn between adult education and training fails to address the increasing interpenetration of the formerly separate spheres of "work" and "education." Thus, it neglects the rather pragmatic nature of most adult education activities, which are increasingly "driven" by interests originating in the workplace and the labour market. It also avoids any thorough analysis of the ways in which the form and content of training are objects of struggle and negotiation within the workplace. The suggestion that adult education exercises a monopoly over empowerment precludes any serious consideration of the crucial importance of skills and technical knowledge as a strategic resource for workers and working class organizations. Generally, the philosophical debate on "adult education *versus* training" has ignored the fact that both forms of educational practice have been informed by common theoretical traditions. The evidence for an extensive sharing of concepts and philosophical rationales is equally strong in both "critical" and "orthodox" variants of adult education and training.

Most definitions of adult education refer primarily to the particularities of adult learning. In this respect, there is no fundamental difference between the philosophical or conceptual bases of adult education and training. "Andragogy" draws heavily upon concepts first elaborated in theories of business organization based on the social psychology of employee motivation. Conventional forms of learner-centred planning and instruction share a common logic with "participative management" techniques for adjusting individuals to work situations in order to achieve higher levels of integration and commitment. Critical theories of adult education are informed by a critique of political economy that addresses the institutional linkages between work and education. Given these continuities, the analysis of training may well constitute an essential basis for developing an adequate theory of adult education.

A centrally important element of this more integrated approach to the development of adult education theory is the idea of educational *praxis* -- that is, the modification of received assumptions about knowledge, culture, and social relations on the basis of insights gained from the evaluation of social practice. In this respect, the adult education *ideal* of "critical reflection" can be considerably enriched by the training *practice* of basing "continuous learning" on the ongoing analysis of work processes and work relations. This theme can be developed more fully by examining: A) the common rationales that inform teaching, B) the commonly neglected problem of applying general learning to specific contexts, and C) the practical problems posed by similar, if not identical, institutional contexts.

CONCEPTIONS OF TEACHING

Our conceptions of teaching (abstract, cognitive representations of a phenomenon) influence how we perceive, interpret and understand teaching and learning situations, and how we determine our responses to those situations. Whether we are "trainers" or "adult educators," teaching and learning situations are composed of the *context* in which we work; the *content* we teach; the *learners/trainees* who come to us to learn; ourselves as *teachers/trainers*; and *interrelationships* between these elements.

Some questions include:

1) The *learning environment* -- does it matter? If so, is it a good physical and psychological environment for learning?
2) The *role, responsibilities and mission of the adult education/training organization* --is it to develop skilled workers, critical thinkers, innovative managers, coping parents?
3) *Content and learning* --are knowledge, skills and attitudes products to be imparted to learners, or things to be jointly generated and discovered?
4) The *characteristics and circumstances of the learners* --are differences among learners accommodated in planning teaching, or is one approach expected to work equally well with all?
5) The *role and responsibilities of the teacher/trainer* --is it to disseminate information, relate learning to "real world" applications, develop the learner intellectually or otherwise?
6) Does the *institutional context and relationship to the student* reinforce or deny the manifest goals and content of learning?

Do the conceptions of teaching held by adult educators and trainers differ? Each of the two groups, themselves, are composites of smaller groups. Differences may lie more in the extent to which some conceptions are commonly found among sub-groups than between the larger fields themselves. There is a deeper question, however. The conceptions of teaching held by adult educators and trainers may or may not differ. Will today's conceptions of teaching, whoever holds them, be adequate to meet the demands of tomorrow's realities? Not likely -- considering that they do not suffice, even today.

APPLICATION: PUTTING THE NEW KNOWLEDGE INTO PRACTICE

Most adults pursue organized learning as a means to an end. Learning is usually initiated to increase the capacity to function in the various social roles of worker, parent, spouse, and citizen. Adult education and training provide opportunities for organized learning experiences in which adults can change their capacity to think, feel, and act. Application is the way in which adults translate their changed capacity back to their natural environment.

It is tempting to draw the usual dichotomy between adult education and training. Application, however, is one area in which they have much in common. It is a low priority for both. The professional literature is preoccupied with reasons for participation, methods/techniques, philosophy, and occasionally evaluation of outcomes. In both fields, application is often left for learners to muddle through. In the case of training, however, where instruction is not delivered in a school-like environment, and where there is a genuine attempt to integrate theory and practice, practical relevance and application do tend to become matters of primary concern and objectives in themselves.

Learners in both adult education and training are left to translate changed capacity into common, natural settings. It is not the "what" and "where" of application that separates adult education and training, as much as the "how" and toward what ends. Trade-offs between fidelity to concept or adaptation to context are the "how" questions of application. Training is disparagingly viewed as offering less choice and education more. In practice, such extremes blur. Training is a polymorphous concept that may not limit choice as much as the ideology of adult education requires "camp" loyalty. The ends sought by behaviourist adult education and the utilitarian and pragmatic goals of progressive education have more in common with training than with liberal and radical adult education.

The rationalist bias toward cognitive education and bias against education for training and skill development narrows adult education and dismisses training from consideration. In practice, knowledge, feeling, skill, and context are not easily separated. "Rational fantasies" ignore the limited rationality of the context within which both adult education and training are applied. Application should be not only common ground for adult education and training, it should be starting ground.

THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

In a broad way, one can argue for two forms of educational institution pattern -- those that emphasize and focus on the transmission of knowledge and various skills; those that emphasize and focus on the enabling of learning.

Nearly all educational institutions belong to the first group. This applies regardless of the nature of learning -- cognitive, psychomotor and affective. Using this model, the learning activities that are commonly differentiated from "training" -- the "academic enterprise" so called -- have identical characteristics to training. In fact, in most teaching (as opposed to learning) institutions, the distinction between education and training refers to a status differentiation between so called academic activities as opposed to other forms of activity that have a more precise set of learning and behavioural objectives attached to them.

The second major relationship and approach to the act of learning in an institutional environment is present in hypothesis and vision far more often than in institutional reality. This is the notion of the institution that exists purely for the sake of enabling adult learning. This compelling vision haunts discourse in the field of adult education, but only rarely emerges in real life. The primary reason for this is that people who work in and derive support from institutions tend to want stability, reliability, and in due course, a sense of meaning (power) and control in their own lives and work. This invariably results in institutions looking more and more like schools as we know them.

OH CANADA!

In the Canadian context, the relationships between these two solitudes, like the other two, are extremely complex and subtle. That is particularly true in the case of adult education, and even more so at the present time. Decisions are being made now that may set patterns of acting and thinking in terms of these concepts for the next twenty years--one projects farther these days at great risk--as decisively and, in my opinion destructively, as they were set by Thomas Arnold nearly 150 years ago. It was Arnold, trying to distinguish--indeed discriminate--between the systems necessary for transforming an agricultural society of farmers into an industrial society of workers, and those systems necessary for the education of "young gentlemen" (sexism intentional), who elaborated the difference between education and training. That distinction suited the class system of Britain very well, although it cost the society dearly in the liberation of intelligence. Unfortunately, leaving aside class considerations, it played directly into the hands of Canadian federalism.

As far as the system of formal education was, and to a degree is, concerned, by the nineteen-sixties Canada had two teaching systems, "nestled in the bosom of a seemingly single educational system" with varying labels. One was devoted to the education of young gentlemen--and increasingly young ladies--who would proceed to the university and the middle class; the other to the "vocational training" of the rest of the population, who would proceed from secondary school to work in various manual occupations. All of our research on participation by adults in education, as in other industrial societies, supports that pattern. What we had was two systems, separately conceived, separately designed, in many cases separately housed, and separately staffed. You did not have to look far for evidence of patronizing on one side, and resentment on the other, among those who staffed and ran these systems. The introduction of the Colleges in the mid-sixties and later simply made the distinctions more obvious.

The basic reasons for the long maintenance of these distinctions among the young is the same reason for their maintenance in the education of adults, Canadian federalism, and the agonies of the federal government. Faced with the increasing dependence of the economy on the availability of a skilled and flexible workforce, forbidden by constitutional fiat from interfering directly in education, the federal government chose training as a conveniently adjacent path to achieve its objectives. Proceeding by a combination of bribery and stealth, as the century progressed, it became ever more massively involved in the management of learning in Canada. Where the young were involved, and where education proper was concerned, circumspection was required, as represented by TVTA, the Fiscal Arrangements Act, Established Programs and Transfer Grants. In these cases at least until recently, the exclusive dominion of the provinces--led by Quebec which was never fooled by the fictions of the distinction, but frequently bribed--had to be respected. Provincial delivery systems were supported, frequently generously, and with the exception of Quebec, without much squabbling.

In the case of adult education/training, no such reticence was observed. The history of the legislation from TVTA in the nineteen-sixties, through OTA (1966), and the various National Training Acts, is a history of increasing federal control in the name of training. The same period has, of course, increasingly involved colleges and school boards--never until now universities--in training, and it is difficult, so far, to determine whether that has contributed to the blurring of the divisions between the two solitudes. Probably it has, since adult learners do not much care, in terms of their objectives, whether they are being educated or trained. However, it has contributed to the maintenance of the distinctions, and the elaboration of different and badly coordinated systems for the "direction" of learning in Canada.

However, the main point of this elaboration is simply to argue that adult educators working in, writing or thinking about federal participation in adult education, have in fact been referring to training--Canadian style. Perhaps that accounts for the frequent use of education/training in the literature, indicating an awareness of the contextual difficulties, but an unwillingness to face the intellectual issues squarely.

Whether you refer to "training" in terms of outcome, process, or context--and the three are frequently confused--it is quite apparent that you cannot educate without training, and you cannot train without educating. Just examine the curriculum of any undergraduate or graduate program in the arts, or classics, to find the truth of that. Any teacher, coach, instructor or trainer knows it, despite the growth of specialized languages. Learning is what matters.

It is context and outcomes that have contributed to the distinctions, not process and teaching. The former, of course, as earlier contributors have acknowledged, are changing, for the better but not fast enough. The present thrust of both provincial and federal governments in the direction of Productivity Councils and Training Boards is developing a whole new system for the direction of learning that is likely to be as socially and politically influential as the formation of the compulsory system of education at the turn of this century. It is being done with very little responsible intellectual contribution from adult educators, with such notable exceptions as the splendid brief recently developed by the New Brunswick Association for Continuing Education for the Commission on Educational Excellence. We are in danger of being blinded by our own history. We do have to attend to institutional distinctions of some standing that segregate funds into training and education, but we do not have to be victims of a spurious intellectual distinction that distorts and limits the proper management of learning for Canadians and in Canada.

FONCTIONNEMENT COGNITIF ET ACTIVITÉS D' APPRENTISSAGE CHEZ DES ADULTES EN VISITE AU MUSÉE*

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Résumé

Dans le musée, l'adulte observe des exhibits et exécute une série d'opérations pour traiter les informations recueillies. Les apprentissages réalisés dans ce contexte par un groupe d'adultes sont étudiés en relation avec leur fonctionnement global et ce dans une perspective cognitiviste qui considère l'adulte comme un agent actif et un organisateur de son expérience en vue de mieux s'adapter.

Abstract

When observing exhibits in a museum, the adult uses some specific cognitive operations in order to process the incoming informations. The learning achieved in such a context by a group of adult visitors is studied with the rest of his or her information processing in a framework that views the visitor as an active agent and organizer of his or her experience.

Problématique

Le musée favorise l'apprentissage de type expérientiel car il s'appuie sur des objets réels et non pas sur des mots pour communiquer ses messages, contrairement à l'école (Falk *et al.* 1986, Speltz et Shaugnessy, 1990). Ce potentiel d'apprentissage qui réside dans les objets pourrait être exploité davantage si notre connaissance en était améliorée (Greenglass, 1986; Hooper-GreenHill, 1990).

L'apprentissage réalisé au musée suscite l'intérêt des muséologues et des éducateurs, cependant il demeure mal connu (Dufresne-Tassé et Martineau, 1990). La nature de ces apprentissages et leurs conditions d'apparition posent des questions qui sont encore sans réponses. Pour cette raison, la connaissance des opérations mentales effectuées par le visiteur et qui conduisent à des acquisitions nouvelles ainsi que celle des opérations nécessaires pour que ces apprentissages se produisent sont d'un grand intérêt théorique et pratique pour le muséologue comme pour l'éducateur (Doobs et Eisner, 1990). Ce texte étudie les opérations mentales qui préparent ou accompagnent l'apprentissage. Nous considérons, de façon générale comme apprentissage, toute connaissance ou habileté nouvelle que le visiteur acquiert, suite à son interaction avec les exhibits, sur des objets, des principes, des concepts, d'autres individus ou encore sur lui-même.

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Cadre de référence

Le cadre de référence de cette recherche est emprunté à la psychologie cognitive. Cette approche considère l'individu comme un constructeur actif et un planificateur plutôt que comme un récepteur passif de la stimulation environnementale (Howard, 1984). L'individu est vu comme un être qui construit une certaine représentation de la réalité, choisit certains aspects de son expérience pour un examen plus poussé et essaie de fixer certaines informations dans sa mémoire. Or justement, nous constatons que pendant sa visite, le visiteur n'est pas passif, se contentant de se laisser envahir par ce qu'il voit. Il déploie une grande activité comme en témoignent les opérations identifiées par Dufresne-Tassé et son équipe. La motivation joue un rôle important dans chacune des étapes de ce processus. Le visiteur de musée ne peut donc être considéré comme un simple récepteur qui réagit aux stimulations extérieures.

Méthodologie

Pendant leurs visites dans trois types de musées de Montréal, 90 sujets ont été accompagnés et invités à exprimer oralement leurs pensées, leurs réactions et leurs émotions. Ces verbalisations étaient enregistrées sur bande magnétique puis analysées par la méthode de l'analyse de contenu. Une grille d'analyse élaborée inductivement pour cette fin à partir du matériel ainsi recueilli (Dufresne-Tassé, 1989a; 1989b; Dufresne-Tassé et Martineau, 1990) a servi pour analyser ce matériel. Les opérations de traitement mentionnées réfèrent à celles identifiées dans cette grille.

Résultats

La constatation et la manifestation affective

Le visiteur commence souvent sa visite par une opération de base, soit une prise de contact avec l'exhibit qui fait l'objet de son attention. Cette constatation simple témoigne qu'il a remarqué l'objet ou certaines de ses caractéristiques. Exemple: "Y en a mis épais là". Par cette opération, le visiteur reconnaît l'objet, note des points particuliers, observe et constate des détails d'une façon sensorielle et immédiate. La constatation amène parfois une manifestation émotive positive ou négative plus ou moins spontanée, plus ou moins forte, le visiteur ne restant pas indifférent. L'exhibit objet d'intérêt produit chez lui l'étonnement et la surprise. Suite à cette première prise de contact, le visiteur va poursuivre l'examen plus détaillé de l'objet qui l'attire ou va le délaisser s'il n'y trouve pas d'intérêt et d'autres opérations sont mises en oeuvre pour traiter les informations recueillies.

Exemple: "Je suis émerveillée , mais des peintres qui réussissent à ...donner sur une peinture le fait d'une réalité... qu'on...est habitué de voir sur photo".

Cet intérêt est nécessaire pour qu'il examine l'exhibit et utilise ses connaissances aussi bien que son imaginaire en vue de saisir le message qu'il comporte. L'apprentissage réalisé à ce niveau concerne des faits des données simples. Cette opération est essentiellement une expression de l'émotion mais, cet aspect affectif est important dans le maintien de l'intérêt du visiteur. L'individu peut apprendre des données ou des faits précis et limités qui se rapportent aux exhibits comme l'existence d'un objet, son utilisation ou ses caractéristiques, la date de création d'une oeuvre ou l'école à laquelle appartient son auteur.

Les hypothèses et les questions

Le visiteur se pose des questions sur différents aspects de l'objet, sur lui-même ou sur les créateurs des objets (Laroque,1988). Il formule des hypothèses de réponse et cherche à comprendre ce qu'il voit et à lui donner un sens par rapport à ses connaissances antérieures .

Exemples: "Mais je présume que c'est du réalisme. Ca m'apparaît le coureur de bois là".
"Je sais pas si ça a été sculpté vraiment au moulin"

La lecture de l'étiquette permet d'obtenir certaines réponses lorsque cette étiquette contient des informations ou des explications pertinentes. Certaines hypothèses ne peuvent être vérifiées dans l'immédiat parce qu'elles portent sur des notions hors de portée du visiteur. Pour cette raison, il arrive aussi que les questions formulées restent sans réponses.

Exemples :"Mais peut-être que dans la réalité c'est aussi comme ça, là que pour aller aux champs il s'habillait comme ça".
"Il est peut-être moins réaliste celui-là".

Le fait de se poser des questions et de formuler des hypothèses de réponse favorise l'apprentissage (Laroque,1988). L'apprentissage réalisé dans cette condition est caractérisé par son aspect immédiat, se réalisant sans intermédiaire. Il est plus complexe que le premier, car il est élaboré par le visiteur en réponse à une question soulevée par lui-même suite à l'examen de l'exhibit. Lorsque le visiteur saisit un aspect nouveau ou une connaissance nouvelle, il manifeste aussi un certain plaisir devant l'apprentissage souvent inattendu qu'il vient de réaliser.

Le rappel de souvenirs

Le visiteur n'arrive pas au musée sans avoir certaines connaissances préalables sur le sujet de l'exposition. L'anticipation lui permet d'avoir une idée plus au moins conforme à la réalité concernant ce qu'il s'attend à voir. Il possède aussi un cadre ou schème pour interpréter et intégrer ce qu'il voit. Le visiteur évoque des souvenirs ou des objets vus ailleurs ou encore à d'autres situations déjà vécues. Il fait appel à ses souvenirs personnels, ses connaissances ou ses expériences passées pour les utiliser dans la compréhension de ce qu'il constate. Il confronte ses connaissances avec ce qu'il constate dans les caractéristiques de l'objet ou ce qu'il lit sur l'étiquette. Ce troisième type d'apprentissage prend alors la forme d'une correction ou rectification d'une représentation de la réalité qui n'est pas ou n'est plus adéquate.

Exemples:" Je me souviens à la galerie d'Ottawa...euh..."
"Ça c'est des choses que j'ignore qu'il y a eu des peintres à cette époque là".

La prévision et la modification

Le visiteur modifie ou corrige ses connaissances lorsque celles-ci s'avèrent non conformes à la réalité. Il peut aussi compléter ses connaissances, les préciser lorsque l'exhibit le permet et lorsque cela est suffisant pour rendre l'exhibit ou son message compréhensibles. C'est l'activité imaginaire qui permet au visiteur de prévoir des événements, d'anticiper le futur, de faire des prévisions et d'imaginer des suites à une situation ou à un exhibit. Le visiteur suggère parfois des modifications à l'exhibit qu'il voit.

Exemples:"Une patience que je n'aurais pas."
"Quoi que ça m'apparaît plus facile dans un paysage que dans un visage".

Lors de cette opération, on ne note pas d'apprentissage. Cette situation est probablement dûe au fait que dans cette opération le visiteur n'est pas tourné vers l'acquisition de connaissances nouvelles mais plutôt travaille sur l'objet. Néanmoins, cette opération pourrait favoriser des apprentissages qui apparaîtront ailleurs.

L'identification l'orientation et la vérification

Le visiteur se situe par rapport à l'objet muséal, situe cet objet dans un continuum ou l'identifie pour mieux le saisir. L'objet peut être identifié par son nom ou sa catégorie d'appartenance . Le visiteur relie ainsi l'objet à du connu, à des événements significatifs ou à des connaissances déjà intégrées. Cette opération d'identification peut elle-même avoir lieu grâce à la lecture de l'étiquette. L'exhibit cesse d'être inconnu pour le visiteur qui peut le nommer ou indiquer sa fonction, son utilisation ou son histoire. Ainsi, le visiteur peut s'orienter dans le temps ou dans l'espace par rapport à l'exposition.

Exemples:"Ca, on jurerait un tableau... vous savez l'angélus de ...Millet".
"Voila l'explication pourquoi il n'y a pas de bananes."

L'apprentissage réalisé est confronté avec les caractéristiques de l'objet pour le compléter ou vérifier son adéquation. Cette vérification porte souvent sur une hypothèse élaborée par le visiteur pour comprendre l'exhibit ou son message.

L'association la comparaison et la distinction

Parfois le visiteur fait des associations avec d'autres objets et effectue des comparaisons. Il compare certains aspects du même exhibit, un exhibit avec un autre dans le même musée ou encore le compare avec un objet extérieur au musée. Il compare aussi des situations ou des personnages en puisant dans ses souvenirs, ou ses connaissances. La comparaison mène à un apprentissage complexe généré par le sujet lui-même.

Exemples:" Là on voit la différence hein d'inspiration"
"C'est là qu'on s'aperçoit qui a ben d'la différence entre la, leur végétation pis la nôtre"

L'explication et la résolution

Le visiteur cherche à expliquer ce qu'il voit, à intégrer les données nouvelles qu'il assimile à celles qu'il possède déjà. Il établit des liens avec ses connaissances pour faire siennes celles qu'il vient d'acquérir. Ces explications peuvent prendre la forme de justifications lorsqu'elles nourrissent des conceptions déjà présentes chez lui. Une question peut rester sans réponse lorsque ni les connaissances antérieures du visiteur ni les données de l'exposition ne lui permettent de trouver une solution satisfaisante.

Exemples: "Alors, il est peut-être moins réaliste celui-là! "
"A moins qu'ils aient ça comme objectif là."

Dans ces opérations les apprentissages ne sont pas fournis directement par les exhibits. Ils sont inférés ou construits par le visiteur à partir de son travail intellectuel.

Les jugements

Le visiteur formule des jugements de valeur sur les exhibits, les créateurs des oeuvres ou les responsables du musée. Ces jugements prennent la forme d'une appréciation teintée d'affectivité et de subjectivité. Le visiteur se réfère à lui-même, à des critères internes, personnels d'appréciation. Il aime ou n'aime pas l'objet. Un jugement peut aussi être étayé par des connaissances relatives à l'exhibit. Le visiteur s'appuie sur des données objectives ou sur des constatations pour prendre position.

Exemples: "Mais ça devrait par exemple prendre du temps peindre ça."
"Mais la couleur ressort tellement, qui fait que ça rend vivant le personnage."

Dans cette opération l'apprentissage est difficile à distinguer de l'opération de jugement. Le visiteur exprime alors qu'il a saisi le sens de l'exhibit ou compris une donnée, une relation ou un aspect nouveau d'une situation sur laquelle il se prononce.

Exemples: "Haaa sacré...une patience que j'aurais pas."
" C'est incroyable par exemple comme tu peux enseigner une fausse vérité longtemps".

Conclusion

Par le nombre et la diversité des opérations relevées chez le visiteur, celui-ci apparaît particulièrement actif durant sa visite. Il ne fonctionne pas de façon linéaire suivant les différentes étapes du schéma proposé ci-haut. Chaque visiteur fonctionne selon une démarche particulière et l'ordre des opérations proposé dans ce texte reflète une tendance générale plutôt qu'un schéma unique et un visiteur donné n'utilise pas la totalité des opérations décrites dans ce texte. Un visiteur peut commencer par un jugement sur l'exhibit dès le départ. L'apprentissage peut avoir lieu dans pratiquement chacune des différentes opérations. Il peut aussi ne pas avoir lieu ou rester non exprimé et donc non détecté par l'instrument utilisé. Une meilleure connaissance de la démarche d'apprentissage du visiteur de musée permettrait d'exploiter au maximum les possibilités éducatives de cette institution. Cette démarche d'apprentissage que nous avons tenté d'expliciter dans ce texte demeure à préciser et à vérifier.

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CULTURE AND THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL DISTINCTION: MUTUAL ENLIGHTENMENT IN VANCOUVER, 1886-1914

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Abstract: Mutual enlightenment is about harnessing culture and education to the service of all humankind. From historical evidence, this study shows how the mutual enlightenment idea became compromised to fit the interests of its constituents.

Résumé: Le but de l'éducation mutuelle est de faire du bien à l'humanité. Basé sur l'évidence historique, ce papier explique comment l'ideé de l'éducation mutuelle était compromise par les intérêts des participants.

Mutual enlightenment is an idea and an ideal. It does not exist in nomenclature, but is named as a construct in order to account for a widespread phenomenon of late 19th, early 20th century nonformal education through voluntary associations. Of essence to the idea of mutual enlightenment is Matthew Arnold's (1971) 1869 proposition that all classes need to become (or are worthy of becoming) enlightened. Thus people formally organized themselves into associations in order to promote and share knowledge amongst themselves and to further share this (or some) knowledge to the public at large. Although the idea of mutual enlightenment was central to each association's official purpose, each interpreted its meaning for its membership and the public in its own distinctive way. In effect, each limited the scope of the idea to suit their members' own purposes and biases. Through their activities, they began to reshape the meaning of the idea.

Once it enters into life--the world of men and women, of social class, and of ethnicity (and any other socially constructed and attributed qualities or distinctions)--the mutual enlightenment idea takes on the shape of its context, even as it is called on to shape the context. Mutual enlightenment has underpinning it certain values. Educationally, it should be rational and democratic, and should support usefuless, equality, culture, beauty, and truth. It is a challenge to the hegemony of social distinction. It starts out proposing new ways of seeing the world, and embodies ideas about what people ought to learn, and about how and why they ought to learn it. However, mutual enlightenment becomes compromised, and sometimes defeated, in the face of incredible and often invisible societal pressures.

Was mutual enlightenment co-opted by the Anglo-Saxon middle class and used by members of that class to build its own cultural conceptions? Through historical analysis of a selected group of voluntary associations, founded in Vancouver's earliest years, this paper argues that social class definitely influenced the nature of education through voluntary associations. The setting is Vancouver, a new and avaricious city (founded 1886) on the western edge of the British Empire. Its population consisted mostly of immigrants, especially British immigrants from the United Kingdom and Eastern Canada, with small but significant groups from Asia, the United States, and continental Europe.

The Ideal

The 19th century was marked by the influence by its great social critics and prophets (Keating, 1981). Among this illustrious company in England were John Stuart Mills, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Matthew Arnold, John Ruskin and William Morris. It is within the crucible of these men's ideas that the notion of mutual enlightenment may be found. Tracing its formation is beyond the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, it is useful to convey something of the flavour of its formative ideas.

Matthew Arnold's protest against "the provincialism and philistinism of English cultural life" (Keating, 1981, p. 185) is key to the idea of mutual enlightenment. To become enlightened--to enter into a state of human perfection--seekers of enlightenment must reject the class-based love of "machinery" and economic materialism, and the preference for law, obedience, and shamanism, and for class itself. They must begin "to see things as they are, ... to see and learn the truth for . . . [their] own satisfaction" (Arnold, 1971, p. 36). Moreover, they must serve and enlighten all of humankind. Arnold called this state of enlightenment "culture."

Culture for Arnold had a strong moral imperative. Without that imperative culture risks being "selfish, petty, and unprofitable," (p. 34) motivated by "mere exclusiveness and vanity" (p. 33). As he says,

> Culture . . . is not satisfied til we *all* come to a perfect man; it knows that the sweetness and light of the few must be imperfect until the raw and unkindled masses of humanity are touched by sweetness and light . . . , when there is a *national* glow of life and thought, when the whole of society is in the fullest measure permeated by thought, sensible to beauty, intelligent and alive . . . . It seeks to do away with classes; to make the best that has been thought and known in the world current everywhere; to make all men live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light; where they use ideas, as it uses them itself, freely,--nourished, and not bound by them. This is the *social idea*; and men of culture are free apostles of equality. (pp. 55-56)

Arnold's grand vision served to inspire supposed apostles far and wide. Listen to the words of Vancouver's Art, Historical and Scientific Association (AHSA) president, Anglican Reverend Norman Tucker. The AHSA founded and managed the city's first museum and art gallery. As Tucker says, the association aimed

> to cultivate a taste for the beauties and refinements of life; to pursue studies that raise the mind above the materialising struggle for existence; to surround our community with the works of taste and beauty; to inspire our minds with the great deeds of our fellow-men and especially of our Yellow-countrymen; to explore the mysterious treasurehouse of nature and to admire and to utilise the marvellous forces concealed in her bosom--in one word, to appeal to our highest instincts and to develop our higher powers. (Art, Historical and Scientific Association Minutes, 1894, n.p.--see Hunt, 1987)

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These were powerful sentiments. Sadly, and with appropriate due for those who tried so valiantly to uphold and fufill these visions, other actors and more base sentiments kept these and the other associations of mutual enlightenment from their appointed role as the purveyors of sweetness and light.

The Real: Beginnings and Compromise

In Vancouver, between the city's founding in 1886 and the outbreak of World War in 1914, residents formed hundreds of clubs and voluntary societies to meet every conceivable need. Copied or transplanted from similar organizations popular in the new residents' former homelands, such associations sought to inject a more intellectual, aesthetic, and moral spirit into the dynamic of industrial and commercial "progress" sweeping the world.

Premier amongst these organizations in Vancouver was the Art, Historical and Scientific Association. The AHSA brought together those interested in the study and transmission of aesthetic, literary, scientific and social scientific topics. They had come together to foster their own mutual learning and, like missionaries--like Samuel Coleridge's clerisy--to proselytize the value of such learning amongst the public. As R. Waller (1910), the AHSA's acting secretary said in a letter to Colonel Leetham of the United Services Institute at Whitehall, London: We in the association are but "a devoted few . . . who have struggled under adverse conditions . . . [to] be an educational and refining factor in the life of Western Canada." Waller and his colleagues aimed to bring, into Vancouver, the higher elements of British civilization and culture.

The AHSA exemplified the pattern of mutual enlightenment in Vancouver. It provided a variety of lecture and musical programs, the museum, and opportunities for informal mutual learning, for both its members and the general public. It also acted as an institute of culture, serving to link its vision and its means to other more specialized programs and organizations. For example, its members gave lectures to YMCA and YWCA audiences and it offered its facilities to and solicited amalgamation with kindred clubs and societies. In short, the AHSA assumed the role of local clerisy, that romantic notion of Coleridge, Arnold and other 19th century prophets of a permanent, classless, learned community of artists and scholars charged with enlightening the population of the whole nation (Keating, 1981).

Membership in the AHSA was inexpensive ($1) and seemed open. While comprised of the educated middle classes, the membership included both women and men, primarily of British, Protestant extraction. Remarkably, at least until a 1903 agreement with the City to share responsibility for the museum, the association also included Japanese diplomats and clergy. The inclusion of these Japanese is possibly due to some members' British-Israelite belief that the Japanese, like the British, were descended from one of the lost tribes of Israel. Both the women and the diplomats also served on the association's executive. The women, however, with a single exception, did not give research papers.

The AHSA, however, also shows how mutual enlightenment could be compromised and partially abandoned when membership is restricted. In the AHSA's case, the members did not treat as their equals the city's lower middle-class and working class residents, which association promoters claimed a wish to refine. And while Japanese of high status were welcome, there were no Chinese members. Moreover, meetings were held during weekdays and in the more comfortable parts of town. Finally, their programming became split between the public museum and art gallery, and members' private lectures and conversaziones.

The AHSA's members distinguished between themselves and those they wished to draw into membership--as the enlightened--and the rest of the population--as the great masses. Contrary to the egalitarian and reciprocal spirit of mutuality, enlightenment from the AHSA quickly became hierarchical and exclusive. The pursuit of knowledge (and membership) in the AHSA served many of its members as a true vehicle for sharing intellectual pursuits. Membership, however, also enhanced members' social status and their claims to erudition and distinction in a money-mad city. For the masses, knowledge (limited as it was) was intended to serve mainly recreational and moral ends, making the city safer for its residents and attractive to tourists. The AHSA and its museum continues successfully today as the Vancouver Public Museum and the Vancouver Museums and Planetarium Association.

The Real: New Beginnings and Failure

As the city grew and developed, from a few thousand people at the AHSA's inception, to several tens of thousands by the turn of the century, the AHSA's exclusivity, and its programming and structural rigidity, increased. One response of this failure to to fully exemplify mutual enlightenment led some AHSA members and others to form new associations. Outwardly more specialized, the new associations were organizationally and programmatically more democratic and egalitarian. They transformed mutual learning from the strictly passive and intellectual to the active and practical, but with enlightenment remaining central to their purpose. These new associations tried to appeal directly and unabashedly to the skilled working classes, and to men and women, as equals. In these new associations, women served as executives, and unlike the AHSA women, participated freely and equally in all educational matters. No Asian names, however, were found in the membership rolls. Anti-Asian tensions had been increasing throughout the period of this study, culminating in a 1907 riot by local whites through Little Tokyo and Chinatown.

Notwithstanding their broad appeal, one of the associations, the Arts and Crafts Association (1900-01), with a membership of over 80, folded within two years of its formation. Another, the Naturalists' Field Club (1906-07), also lasted less than two years. The members of both organizations dispersed themselves into subsequent, and less socially ambitious, organizations. The reasons for failure had much to do with incompatability and competing interests from the differing constituencies within each association's membership.

The Arts and Crafts Association was inspired by William

Morris' famed London Arts and Crafts Society. Morris formed his society as a revolt against capitalist industrial production, its ugliness, and its degredation of both workers and consumers. He sought to bring workers and craftsmen, and professional artists and architects together to share ideas and to produce beauty in everyday objects--from furniture to housing to public works. The Vancouver Arts and Crafts Association succeeded quickly and fairly well at bringing together these different constituencies. It organized its curriculum around ten subcommittees that promoted the co-operative sharing of knowledge and skill among committee members. More significantly, each subcommittee was comprised of both those members experienced in the particular discipline (e.g., lithography, furniture design, ironwork, photography) and others wishing to learn about the discipline. In preparation for major public exhibition, both the experienced and the novice would work together to produce their art or craft.

The Naturalists' Field Club, again transplanted from the English version by its English members, sought beauty in nature through discovery, study, and sensate experience. All members--stenographers, teachers, writers--viewed themselves as but "senior students in the same great class" (Naturalists' Field Club, 1906). They made scientific expeditions--to the beach, or the graveyard, for example--and collected specimens, recorded observations, and presented papers, all under the guidance and support of the more experienced members.

Outwardly successful, the failure of these two associations can be attributed to the inability of the differing interests to work harmoniously together. While the Field Club seems to have fizzled out in 1907, its members quickly reestablished themselves in two more socially distinct natural history clubs. Those whose ideals included acceptance of people from across social classes established the more scientifically-oriented British Columbia Mountaineering Club (founded 1907), while those who wished (and who could afford) a more affluent crowd joined the more romantic Alpine Club of Canada (established in Vancouver in 1909). Both organizations continue today, although the Mountaineering Club in 1918 had its naturalists split off again as the Vancouver Natural History Society.

The more ambitious Arts and Crafts Association collapsed from its failure to transmit Willian Morris' socialist ideals to many of its own members and especially to the community at large. There were too few artisans (14%) as members and the failure of a more sizeable representation from among the city's architects. The association's president, architect Mower Martin, was so disgusted that he publicly chastised his colleagues in their national magazine. Only the fine arts community (professional and amateur) joined in any sizeable numbers. Moreover, the association failed in its mission to secure financial and moral support from the city's philanthropic businessmen. So disastrous was the lack of support that the second exhibition ended as a financial failure. Several members, including founder Robert Mackay Fripp, afterwards left the city for greener pastures.

Eventually each constituency, except perhaps for the artistically-inclined artisans, founded new associational homes:

the Vancouver Photographic Society (1903 until amalgamation with the AHSA in 1905), the amateur (and well-heeled) Studio Club (1904), the professional B.C. Society of Fine Arts (1908), and the Architectural Institute. Fripp did return to Vancouver and with several others rejoined the AHSA. In 1911, Fripp became the AHSA's Vice-President and in 1915 its President. As for those artisans whose careers could be traced, all advanced significantly. For example, two sash and door factory labourers became respectively a sawyer and a real estate agent, an electrician became an electrical engineer, and a bicycle repairer became an marine engine inventor. For these members at least, membership indicated more a desire for individual advance than a wish to challenge the social and economic world.

Although inspired by the romantic visions of Matthew Arnold, William Morris, and the like, Vancouver's disciples of mutual enlightenment still had strong and conflicting class and ethnic loyalties. When social and political pressure arose, these loyalties likewise came to the fore. Though I have not discussed it, those associations that succeeded most handsomely, in terms of time and membership, were single gender associations. They were more compatible with society's segregation of the sexes into separate spheres. Nevertheless, these few organizations I have discussed did attempt a working together of men and women, of ethnic groups, and of the social classes. These associations may truly have been cultural missions, determined to change the subjective and objective bases for class, to remove people's blind dependence on materialism, and to redirect their own and others' interests to the love of truth, beauty, and social justice. Yet their members were for the most part of the middle class, most entirely British Protestants in ethnic origin. As migrants and immigrants, they had strong interests in building and maintaining a relatively comfortable social and economic position.

It is probable that both humanitarian and selfish interests co-existed among association members. Each association's members formulated and practised their version of mutual enlightenment. In some cases, self, class, and ethnic interests superseded their humanitarian goals. This in turn led to variations in mutual enlightenment's program forms and curricular interests and to the defeat of the most idealistic of its adherents.

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DUTCH ANDRAGOGY GOES TO THE ART MUSEUM

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Abstract

The former popularity of Dutch andragogy has to be seen in the context of the Dutch welfare state and its aspiration to promote social and cultural well-being. Museum education was one of many means to attain this end. The loss of interest in Dutch andragogy went hand in hand with the erosion of the Dutch welfare state. At the same time, the pursuit of the social or cultural education of adults is no longer a goal for art museums in the Netherlands.

Resumé

L'ANDRAGOGIE HOLLANDAISE ENTRE AU MUSEE DES BEAUX-ARTS
Il faut considérer la popularité antérieure de l'andragogie hollandaise dans le contexte de l'Etat-providence et son aspiration de promouvoir le bien-être social et culturel. L'éducation muséale était un des moyens nombreux pour atteindre à ce but. La perte d'interêt dans l'andragogie hollandaise coïncide avec l'érosion de l'Etat-providence aux Pays Bas. En même temps, la poursuite de l'éducation sociale et culturelle des adultes n'est plus un objectif pour les musées des beaux-arts en Hollande.

In countries where the term 'pedagogy' has currency, the word 'andragogy' is often used to denote the education of adults. In this way, one avoids the terminological embarrassment of, for instance, 'adult pedagogy'. The word 'agogy' then serves as a common denominator for pedagogy and andragogy. Where a more neutral word like 'education' is customary, there seems to be no direct need for another generic term to replace 'adult education'. Often, however, the term 'andragogy' is applied to indicate either a specific approach to adult education, or, in sharp contrast, a comprehensive field of activities of which adult education only forms a part. Examples of the first use can be found in the United Kingdom (Allman 1983) and North America (Knowles 1970). The second application was, until recently, the case in the Netherlands. At present, the Dutch term 'andragogie', if still used, functions mainly as a synonym for the education of adults.

When, in 1970, the science of andragogy was granted academic and governmental recognition in the Netherlands, the official documents referred to the 'social and cultural education of adults' as one of its specific fields of study and research. The others were social work, community organization and personnel management. Cultural education, however, particularly in the more limited meaning of arts education, has enjoyed little attention from Dutch practitioners and academics in the field of adult education. In addition to formal adult education and vocational training, they have been mainly interested in social education. In this latter area, questions about the facilitation of personal growth, the improvement of interpersonal relations, and the development of political consciousness have preoccupied both kinds of professionals. Even when some attention was given to the arts education of adults, it has been primarily for non-artistic purposes. Helping adults to appreciate art was not considered as a goal in its own right, but as a means to attain other ends.

The present paper stems from a research project which deals with this long neglected connection between adult education and art. From a historical point of view, it pays attention to the relationship between museum education and Dutch andragogy.

From social pedagogy to andragogy

The Netherlands played a pioneering role in the professional training for social and educational work. A 'School voor Maatschappelijk Werk' [School for Social Work] was founded in Amsterdam in 1899, problably the first in the world of this kind. Contrary to the present use of the term, the Dutch notion of 'social work' not only meant public assistance, but also popular education. Soon, the emerging professionals in the fields of social work and adult education sought a science of their own. This was found in 'social pedagogy', a developing discipline in Germany at the beginning of the twentieth century (Van Gent 1988a).

In 1845, a German pedagogue by the name of Mager invented the term 'Sozialpädagogik' (Kronen 1980). Eleven years before, the term 'Andragogik' was coined by the German high-school teacher Kapp in a book on the educational views of Plato. The ideas of Kapp pertaining to the education of adults did not gain wide acceptance. On the contrary, they were heavily critized by his compatriot Herbart, an influential pedagogue, who opposed such education. Herbart argued that a child should be educated to become an autonomous personality; once an adult, a human being could only engage in self-education. The entry of andragogues would lead to general dependence and tutelage (Van Enckevort 1972).

After this attack, the term 'Andragogik' virtually disappeared, although some vestiges can be found in, for example, Russia around 1885 (Savicevic 1991). It knew a modest revival in the first decades of the twentieth century, mainly in Germany. In 1926, the sociologist and adult educator Rosenstock-Huessy made a distinction between 'Pädagogik', 'Andragogik' and 'Demagogik' (Van Enckevort 1972: 28). From 1920 till 1922, Rosenstock-Huessy was in charge of the 'Akademie der Arbeit' [Academy of Labour] in Frankfurt-am-Main, a cadre training institute for the German workers' movement. In Education through Experience (1927) Lindeman, professor at the New York School of Social Work, described, together with Martha Anderson, the activities of this Academy of Labour. In their report they declared: "Pedagogy is the method by which children are taught. Demagogy is the path by which adults are intellectually betrayed. Andragogy is the true method of adult learning" (Brookfield 1987: 27).

In 1951, the Swiss remedial educationalist Hanselmann published his Andragogik: Wesen, Möglichkeiten, Grenzen der Erwachsenenbildung [Andragogy: Essence, Possibilities, Limits of Adult Education]. In line with his profession, Hanselmann considered andragogy as "in the first place, an allround support of the adult in his pursuit of self-education (-) and in the second place the resuscitation of this pursuit when it has been led astray" (Hanselmann 1951: 59). This book was followed in 1957 by Pöggeler's Einführung in die Andragogik: Grundfragen der Erwachsenenbildung [Introduction to Andragogy: Basic Questions of Adult Education].

In the Netherlands itself, social pedagogy was barely subjected to theoretical scrutiny before 1940. The term 'andragogy' was not used at all. As a university discipline, social pedagogy received its first opportunity to develop after the second World War, with the advent of the welfare state.

In 1950, Ten Have was appointed to the chair of social pedagogy at the University of Amsterdam. The reintroduction of 'Andragogik' by Hanselmann and Pöggeler enhanced Ten Have's already existing objections against the use of the term 'social pedagogy' when applied to adults. In 1960, he laid the theoretical foundation for the science of andragogy in a major article, published in Volksopvoeding [Popular Education] (Ten Have 1960). In that same article, he introduced the term 'agogy' as an 'umbrella concept', covering both pedagogy and andragogy.

Andragogy and arts education

In his persistent pursuit of conceptual clarity, Ten Have also made a distinction between 'social agogy' and 'cultural agogy'. The first term was coined to refer to the guidance of children and adults as social beings, while the second term was meant to denote activities intended to educate children and adults to become bearers and creators of a "spiritual-ethical culture" (Ten Have 1960: 37). He explicitly stated that he required these two terms because, in his opinion, they implied two completely divergent tasks.

On the one hand, this is quite curious, since Ten Have himself had drawn attention to the fact that in the so-called 'socio-cultural work' of 'Buurthuizen' [Neighbourhood Centres] these two aspects had already been integrated for a long time. Moreover, he advocated the science of andragogy explicitly as a common denominator for the study of, among other activities, social and cultural work.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the specific field of social work, which had gradually acquired an identity of its own in the form of 'social casework', was eager to establish itself in distinction from cultural work. One can even say that since the Second World War both fields were engaged in mutual competition. The dramatic social consequences of the war had led to dynamic developments in the theory and practice of social work. Because of this rapid growth of their rivals' influence, the professionals in the field of cultural work feared an important loss of ground.

Even within cultural work itself much competition existed between those who were only interested in strictly cultural aspects, and those who looked upon cultural education primarily as a social activity. Dibbits, for example, noticed that 'cultural' educationalists, who understood 'culture' in the more narrow sense of 'art', looked with some disdain at their 'social' colleagues. The concept of culture, derived from the traditional nineteenth century German notion of 'Bildung' [liberal education], located itself at the top of a hierarchy of values (Dibbits 1969: 6). Yet, these were rear-guard actions, and in practice the battle had already been decided in favour of social education. A call for drastic changes in Dutch society, expressed at the end of the sixties by a new radical student movement, had little consideration for art in its own right.

This tendency became so extreme that, even in the specific field of arts education, the cultural aspect nearly disappeared from the stage. In a policy statement of 1974, the 'Nederlandse Stichting voor Kunstzinnige Vorming' [Dutch Foundation for Arts Education] distinguished three perspectives. Arts education could be seen as: a) the development of artistic sensitivity, b) a means to personal growth, and c) a way towards social consciousness. An outspoken preference for 'social relevance' led to the rejection of the first perspective; education, not art, should be given priority. The point of departure for the Foundation's policy was that "arts education had to be evaluated in terms of its contribution to social education" (NSKV 1974: 35). It took some time before signals could be heard which suggested that arts education as such was reclaiming its legitimate position.

The promotion of an artistic sensitivity, in both a passive and an active form, is the final goal of this kind of educational work. Furthermore, one can speak of personal, relational, political or moral education which makes use of art. In this case, artistic means are deployed in order to attain non-artistic goals. Within the area of arts education itself, one can distinguish between sectors such as the audio-visual, plastic and dramatic arts, dance, and literature. Another distinction to be made has to do with the institutional settings of arts education. Such settings include organizations for formal education, socio-cultural Neighbourhood Centres, 'Creativiteits-centra' [Creativity Centres], and the educational services of museums (Van Gent 1988b).

The beginnings of museum education

The decades around the turn of the last century were of primary importance for the development of adult education in the Netherlands. Progressive members of the Dutch bourgeoisie tried, with often divergent goals and more or less success, to 'improve' the lower classes. Some of them were inspired by the example of Canon Barnett in England, who expected much of a 'university settlement', a residential centre for faculty and students. He named his centre in the East End of London after the economic historian of the Industrial Revolution, Arnold Toynbee. Barnett's 'practicable socialism' did not preach a redistribution of income. It was his intention that Toynbee Hall should provide education through social contact (Van Gent 1991b).

The model of Toynbee Hall led to the establishment of the first 'Volkshuizen' [Folk Houses] in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Leiden. The intentions of the founders of these voluntary organizations were clearly articulated in the statutes of the Leiden Folk House. Its objective was to raise "the level of education, culture, and happiness among the working, and comparable classes in Leiden and its surroundings" (in Bijl et al. 1938: 17). Professors and students provided legal assistance to the poor, mostly in disputes about rent, and organized lectures, musical performances and expositions. They wanted their institution to be "a centre of art as well as of social action", just like Barnett's Toynbee Hall (Briggs & Macartney 1984: 57). In Leiden, the most important role was played by a woman, Emilie Knappert, who was greatly influenced by Ruskin, the English art critic and social reformer. For sixteen years she was in charge of the Leiden Folk House and her pioneering efforts there have put a stamp on Dutch adult education. She saw cultural education as her main goal. Guided tours to museums and the lending of reproductions would bring art "into the field of vision of the proletariat" (Kramers et al. 1982: 104). In 1915 she became director of the School for Social Work in Amsterdam.

The association 'Kunst aan het Volk' [Art to the People] was a more specific attempt by members of the progessive bourgeoisie to provide the working class with arts education. The association was founded in 1903; one of its goals was "the organization of visits to public collections of art" (in Adang 1990: 92.). The initiators had a left-wing liberal background. Most of them, however, became members of the 'Sociaal Democratische Arbeiders Partij' [Social Democratic Labourers Party] or sympathized with the socialist movement.

The elite of the socialist movement itself was to be found in the 'Algemene Nederlandse Diamantbewerkers Bond' [General Dutch Diamond Workers Union] under the inspiring leadership of Polak. He was a great admirer of the multifaceted English artist and socialist Morris who advocated the aesthetic education of the working class as a means to humanize its revolutionary struggle. In 1903, this Union announced the formation of a 'Commissie voor Maatschappelijk Werk' [Committee for Social Work]. Its assignment was to "engage in everything that would lead to the education of the members and the enhancement of their happiness" (in Adang 1990: 86). Lectures on artistic subjects and visits to "important exhibitions" were among the many activities of this committee.

The cultural education of the lower classes was not only inspired by compassion for their sorry lot and the ugliness of their surroundings, but also had tactical motives. The task of the socialist movement to obtain higher wages and more time for leisure was rendered extra difficult by the existing negative image that excessive drinking and base forms of amusement among the proletariat would be the only outcome (Adang 1990: 81). In 1919, the Dutch government reduced the working day to eight hours. During the parliamentary debates, opponents had indeed mentioned an imminent danger: next to the negative consequences for the economic position of the Netherlands on the international market, they had feared that the lower classes would not be able to handle their new freedom.

At the beginning of the thirties, organizations in the field of adult education asked for more systematic information about the use of free time on the part of the lower classes (Beckers & Van der Poel 1990: 58, 160-161). In 1934, a conference on the occasion of the 150th birthday of the 'Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen' [Society for the Common Benefit], the oldest Dutch voluntary organization in the field of adult education, was entirely devoted to this problem. Two years later, Kruijt - one of the founding fathers of leisure studies in the Netherlands - focussed his attention on "adult educators who want to have a better insight into the problems of the use of free time in order to take - with a bigger chance for success - those measures which aim at the edification of the spiritual and moral level of our people" (in Beckers & Van der Poel 1990: 161).

During that period, art museums themselves initiated activities to stimulate the interest of the general public. Many of them even saw the educational function of the museum as the only avenue of escape, in a severe economic depression, from financial retrenchments (Van Wengen 1975: 5).

Welfare state, andragogy and museum education

After the Second World War, the Netherlands witnessed the advent of the welfare state. Before the war, the economist Keynes and the sociologist Mannheim, among many others, had articulated their fear of the abuse of free time. Their ideas had inspired the architects of the Dutch welfare state, who also shared many of their pessimistic anticipations and moralistic convictions. Van der Leeuw, the first post-war minister of Education, Arts and Sciences, advocated a paternalistic educational and cultural policy (Rogier 1982: 8). After his early departure, his successors took a less active stand, but their concern remained. In 1949, the Catholic minister Rutten urged the 'Voorlopige Raad voor de Kunst' [Provisional Arts Council] to consider specifically the question of "how art could be brought to the worker" (Oosterbaan Martinus 1990: 17).

In 1965, the arts became the responsibility of a new 'Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk' [Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work]. A broad welfare policy began to take shape in this period, now that the government was of the opinion that more provisions for cultural and social well-being were necessary alongside the provisions for material prosperity. A policy to diffuse culture was devised in the context of a strategy to spread knowledge, power and income. Education of the public was regarded as a primary task for museums (Ministerie van CRM 1976: 10).

From 1965 on, some governing bodies of the welfare state considered art as a way to raise the social consciousness of the underprivileged. Educational departments were established in every major museum and in many ways they even overshadowed the activities of other departments. Within the museums, new and often provocative educational techniques were being developed. To break down the image of the museum as 'an instrument of the dominant powers', the methods of outreach work were applied and cooperation was sought with socio-cultural Centres in lower class neighbourhoods - the successors to the pre-war Folk Houses (Ganzeboom & Haanstra 1989: 26). In this way, the strategies of social work, adult education and community organization were combined.

Soon after 1975, however, in the aftermath of the so-called 'international oil crisis', the edifice of the Dutch welfare state began to show many fissures. The decline of Dutch andragogy as a comprehensive field of activities, which had been one of the beneficiaries of the welfare state, went hand in hand with this erosion. To an increasing extent, professionals working in fields of social work and adult education went their separate ways. Each sought shelter in safer areas that were less threatened by financial cuts. Social work went looking for help from the stronghold of medicine. Adult education moved in the direction of formal primary, secondary and higher education, or vocational training, where the quest for diplomas and certificates is predominant. Community organization, for a long time a link between social work and adult education, withered away. A new Royal Decree, issued in 1985, deprived the science of andragogy of its status as an autonomous discipline.

From 1985 on, the pursuit of social emancipation disappeared more or less completely from the stage. The state exchanged its educational policy for a cultural policy and decided to channel its sparse resources towards the conservation of high quality objects. This provoked little protest from the traditional elite within the museum hierarchy, which had become irritated by the educational offensive. The government's new emphasis on privatization compelled museums to sollicit corporate sponsorship and to organize only commercially sound expositions. Art promotion therefore took the place of arts education (Van Gent 1991a).

The social or cultural education of adults was no longer a goal for the art museums of the Netherlands. The visit of andragogy to these citadels of high culture was a rather short one and did not lead to an enduring attachment.

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Education for social transformation
(Case-study of the Christian Task Force on Central America)

By: Corina Dykstra, University of British Columbia

Abstract

This paper is a discussion of the study I undertook for my M.A. thesis. The study was an attempt to explore, understand and link adult education to the wider struggle for radical democracy.

Cette papier est un discussion de l'etude que je fais pour ma maitre. Cet etudie etais une essai d'explorer, de compredre, et enchaîner l'education d'adults a la grande lutte pour une democracie radicale.

Introduction

It is the "pedagogy of mobilisation" that has been virtually ignored in adult education literature. In general, what currently passes for much educational theory represents "a language of critique devoid of any language of possibility" (Giroux, 1988). In part, the anti-utopian nature of such theory is due to the "isolation of theorists from larger social movements and sources of social criticism as well as to the pessism of those academics who distrust any form of struggle or theorising that might emerge in public spheres outside the university" (Giroux, 1988, p. 205). In view of this absence, the challenge for future research is to concretise, and critically assess transformative practice in relation to reality. In this sense, there is a need to turn towards concrete struggle or movements to deepen an understanding of the role of adult education in social transformation.

The Vancouver based network, the Christian Task Force on Central America (CTFCA), was the site for my study as it provided a practical reality with which to examine more deeply the role of education in the struggle for social justice. Explicitly and implicitly, the CTFCA has an education mandate which is political at base. In broad terms, their stated objectives are to participate in the transformation of social justice in Central America and in the transformation of Canadian consciousness.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical base was developed from current literature on education for social change. This included a critique of the dominant understanding and approach to social change education. It was argued that this model strips social processes of their political nature and content by situating them within the framework of social adjustment. An alternative "transformative" social change model was developed; one that acknowledges that adult education's role in the change of oppressive conditions is part of the wider struggle in changing power relations. Such an alternative recognises struggle and direct action as an important dimension of transformative education. It is writers such as Freire and Gramsci that redefined the notion of political struggle, emphasising its educational nature.

Transformative Educational Model

From my synthesis of the literature, I propose that the the salient core characteristics of a critical transformative education model are: social change vision, a critical pedagogical strategy and a pedagogy of mobilisation. Each of these elements is embedded in and informs the others; they are by no means linear and separate but rather are connected in a circular representation where each is linked and has a relationship with the other two.

1. Vision

The vision educators have provides an essential dimension of education - the language of meaning. As Evans (1987) suggests "transformative education needs the explicit articulation and remembrance of a vision and the constituent values that sustain that vision" (p. 279). That is, effective resistance to injustice and certainly the energy to act for structural change demand constant clarification of a critical and emancipatory vision. As Law (1986) writes:

> ...inspired by that vision, educators can then develop a coherent systematic pedagogy that better relates what we do in our everyday life to the values and the aspirations we have for our wider community (p. 4)

2. Critical Pedagogy

The second aspect of the model refers to critical pedagogy and addresses an educational practice which critically informs, challenges and engages peple in the creation and recreation of knowledge.

A central element in the dynamic of transformation is **social consciousness**, both for initiating change and for sustaining the movement toward justice. It is characterised by the encouragement of a new vulnerability in people, an openness to questioning impressions previously accepted as the "way things are" (Kennedy, 1987, p. 246).

A key strategy in this process is that of critical thinking: the learning that involves people in a critical process to gain an understanding of political and social forces that influence daily life. The second part of the critical process is the experiential aspect which moves beyond the provision of information and seeks to engage people in action.

The primary methodological strategy of transformative education has been referred to as **dialogue**; "cointentionality" or a partnership of mutual cooperation is the fundamental base (Butkus, 1983, p. 150). It is not to be understood as a technique but is rather indicative of a critically communicative process, rooted in a horizontal relationship between individuals.

3. Pedagogy of Mobilisation

The final dimension of the model refers to a "pedagogy of mobilisation", to the activist strategies of transformative education which arise from the context of "grassroots" struggle. These can be looked upon as the often implicit elements embedded in the building and sustaining of a movement; the practical involvement of people in its organisational and political practice. The grassroots education process is characterised by the **building and organising of people**, the community. Change comes from power, and power comes from organising. That is, power cannot be defined in mere functional terms; it is also about how people relate to one another in their material world, and, as such, is lived and practiced in the social relationships that are part of daily life (Kemmis, 1988).

Participation, as an educative force, is at the heart of the transformative educative process. Ultimately, people's commitment depends on how they actually experience authentic involvement. One such experience is that of leadership development of all members. In all instances those who function as leaders will have to take the initiative to motivate others and to show the way through example. Another educational experience is the development of analytic and strategic thinking. It is an educational process which enables people to form ideas about the properties of things, to explain the causes of phenomena (understanding that their effects change when the circumstances in which they occur change), to discover the relations and interactions among them and the overriding principles; all which goes to make up knowledge (Ministry of Education, Nicaragua, 1986, p. 12).

Popular education has been termed the educational dimension of **political activity** (Preiswerk, 1987); it prepares people to take advantage of opportunities so they can become capable of acting for their interests and exercising power in an organised and systematic manner (La Belle, 1987). It involves the expectation that individuals will proceed form analysis to the identification of avenues of action aimed at penetrating the political sphere.

Unity through **coalition and network building** is a vital strategy in the transformative process. Solidarity refers to an educative process, rooted in relationship building which promotes advocacy beyond a narrow self interest and is centered rather on the wider community. That is, each level of expansion, starting with the particular struggle and making links across struggles, strengthens the popular base of power.

The Christian Task Force as an Educational Movement

The Task Force's practice as an educational movement for social change comes together in a model that has five components. These are "introducing the issues," engaging people and institutions in the work," "experiencing the Central American reality," "deepening relationships with the south," and "program formation, analysis and networking." Created in each component are activities and educational programs contributing towards an educational practice characterised by a critical pedagogy which seeks "to develop critical consciousness" and a pedagogy of mobilisation which seeks "to motivate and involve people actively in the struggle for social change."

The five central objectives come together in the model of a wheel depicted below, with each area looked upon as a spoke - each having a life of its own but each interdependent to the movement as a whole. The wheel can be thought of as attached to a car with its "body" representing the **organisational structure** which provides the shape and gives character to the movement, and the "fuel" can be seen in terms of **human and financial resources** needed to move it. In this light, the wheel is not static but remains dynamic and its source of power comes from the movement of people within it.

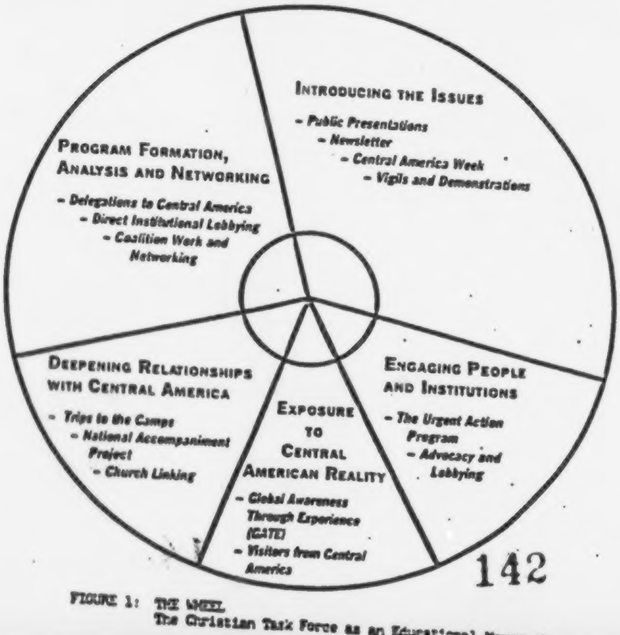
INTRODUCING THE ISSUES
- Public Presentations
- Newsletter
- Central America Week
- Vigils and Demonstrations
PROGRAM FORMATION, ANALYSIS AND NETWORKING
- Delegations to Central America
- Direct Institutional Lobbying
- Coalition Work and Networking
DEEPENING RELATIONSHIPS WITH CENTRAL AMERICA
- Trips to the Camps
- National Accompaniment Project
- Church Linking
EXPOSURE TO CENTRAL AMERICAN REALITY
- Global Awareness Through Experience (GATE)
- Visitors from Central America
ENGAGING PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS
- The Urgent Action Program
- Advocacy and Lobbying

FIGURE 1: THE WHEEL
The Christian Task Force as an Educational Movement

The Task Force's Grassroots theory of social change

Consistent with the fundamental belief in the importance of people in the struggle for change, the Task Force's priority in its educational work is 'at the base' - with the ordinary Canadian. A fundamental principle of the Task Force's educational approach, then, is that education must respond to where people are, to connect with individuals at a personal level to engage them in the struggle for justice.

The Task Force's analysis of the situation in Central America is committed to understanding the structural conditions that sustain and dehumanise poverty and to understanding the system of injustice which is responsible for the continuation of human rights violations on a daily basis. This understanding then is the basis of the Task Force's critical pedagogy. In introducing the issues, the Task Force seeks a particular kind of awareness - a personal confrontation with injustice that demands a response.

Another principle in the Task Force's grassroots theory of social change is that of learning through involvement in the issues. In the long run, the Task Force beleives that the greatest potential for changing Canadian policy towards the region, and an alternative order, is through the education work of people at the base, in their communities. Creating the foundation for a deeper understanding and commitment is interwoven with the engaging of people in concrete activities, such as political lobbying.

The hermeneutic of learning that is central to "experiencing the Central American reality" is that of action-reflection-further action. That is, the personal experience, with those suffering injustice and struggling in the midst of death, holds one accountable and demands a futher response of action. Reflection on the experience challenges people to 'see with open eyes' the similar structures of power operating in Canadian society.

Another principle that characterises the Task Force's method of practice (its relationships) is that of mutuality. For example, the relationship of accompaniment in its truest sense is "dialectical" or "reciprocal" - a relationship reflecting and committed to the principles of cooperation and collaboration. It challenges the dominant and commonly held understanding of power based on control. That is the form of relationship the Task Force strives for in its work/practice is one of trust, vulnerability and exchange. This is reflected by its commitment to collective and participatory forums of planning, decision making and evaluation of programs.

The importance of ongoing analysis and reflection of Central America and other related issues is undertaken in order to keep abreast of the changing context both in terms of global, Central American and Canadian develoments. The Task Force's practice reveals an attempt to remain open and dynamic to respond to new conditions which present themselves in the face of current shifting economic and social policies - for example, the Free Trade agreements both with the U.S and Mexico, the globalisation of capital and the attempt by Western powers to weaken the population movement base to strengthen the corporate agenda. Not only do these developments have implications in relation to the work around CA but also in terms of the overall direction of the movement in Canada.

The principle of creativeness and risk-taking is fundamental then to an education and struggle for social change. In terms of the movement itself, and for individuals within the movement, there is a need to take risks and be challenged through reflection to move forward in a manner consistent with the movement's vision. It is this openness that also provides direction for the "networking" that is necessary to not only legitimise the movement in terms of its work around Central America (and to form alliances with those in the solidarity struggle), but also to challenge the movement in terms of extending its working possibilities.

Summary of Insights Gained

In summary, to pull together what has been learned about the Task Force as an educative force the following points can be made:

1. The Task Force has an educational theory of human agency, which has, at its core, a belief that people are the greatest resource for change and can be mobilised into effective action.
2. Its educative work is based on norms embedded in Canadian society, based on the belief of understanding where people are at and what they value. These norms have human rights and democracy as basic principles of Christian and moral practice for justice.
3. Its educational work provides the continual backdrop of information, understanding and a growing consciousness in people about the situation in CA. This awareness and deeper understanding prompts people into action and prepares them to respond to political changes in the region and also to lobby for policy changes by the Canadian government.
4. The Task Force creates concrete actions and suggestions for action so people at varying levels of awareness can become involved in the solidarity struggle for peace and justice, through their most comfortable entry point and most suited to their level of commitment.

General Conclusions in relation to the field of adult education

The Task Force provided the context for understanding educational practice grounded in social and political thought rather than psychological theory. Talking of adult education for social change points to the need for unity between social change vision, educational strategies and political practice. Participation in political struggle for social justice changes the contours of theoretical work. Instead of merely espousing the principles of democracy, the work is more specific, since the challenge is to create and struggle for those conditions in our reality today. The conditions for justice, democracy and participatory power must be constructed, worked toward, created and experienced; they do not exist in the mere naming.

The tension inherent in grassroots struggle calls for "action" toward the formation of political strategies; an educational practice that has been termed a "pedagogy of mobilisation." It is this practice that opens up new ways to examine how radical adult eduators can further develop their understanding of the relationship between education and politics.

The study concluded that the radical possibility of education lies within the process of education itself; it is not so much the content as the method of practice which is vital in creating the conditions of a participatory democracy, here and now. Furthermore, this study concludes that social struggles are themselves, intensive learning grounds for "teachers" and "learners."

Suggestions for further research

The following elements are only a few avenues of potential research and investigation for those interested in the relationship of adult education within the context of social movements.

1. Model of the wheel as a framework for analysis

This evaluative model offers components that could be generalised for examining the role of transformative education in other social sites. That is, the education activities of different social movements could be examined in light of some of the objectives developed in the wheel. Questions that could form part of the analytical framework include the following:

- What activities does the movement provide for introducing people to the issues?
- How does the movement engage people in the issues? What are the activities provided by the movement in which people can collectively involve themselves in the work?
- What is the model of relations that exist within the movement? Does the movement provide activities that challenge the relations of power between people?
- What activities or forum is provided for analysis, developing programs and strategising? At the institutional level, how does the movement relate to different bodies?

Another part of the model is to examine the movement to identify factors that enhance or limit it as an agent of social change. In general the two areas that could be part of further research as an analytical tool are those of resources, both human and financial, and of organisational structure. These two elements are an area for further investigation as to how social movements develop and deal with these critical elements that need to be balanced in order to operate as a transformative force.

2. Theorectical model of transformative education

The development of this model could be studied and examined in light of the educational practice of different social movements and thus contribute to a body of literature that critically assesses transformative practice in relation to reality. Further studies could add to the breadth and deepen a practical understanding of the components of "Vision," "Critical Pedagogy," and "Pedagogy of Mobilisation," and thus build theory upon practice and practice upon theory.

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The Competitiveness Craze: A Critique of the Recent Vocationalism in Canadian Education

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Abstract

The recent consensus of Canadian educational policy-makers and policy-advocates is that, in order to increase Canada's competitiveness in the new global economy, the educational system needs to be more closely aligned with the needs of industry. Questions need to be raised, however, as to whether the proposed reforms will promote social and economic justice and the prospects for emancipatory education.

Abstracte

Le récent consensus des responsables politiques et conseillers canadiens en éducation demontre que, pour améliorer la compétitivité économique canadienne au sein de l'économie mondiale, le système éducatif doit être aligner sur les besoins industriels. Cependant, certaines questions ne manqueront pas de s'élever: les réformes proposées continueront-elles de promouvoir une justice sociale et économique et le développement d'une éducation pour l'émancipation.

The Competitiveness Craze

The period 1985 - 1992 has witnessed a stream of statements and publications by Canadian policy-makers and policy advocates dealing with the subject of Canadian competitiveness in the "new" global economy (See, for example, Government of Canada, 1989, 1991a and 1991b; Porter, 1991; Province of British Columbia, 1989). These documents and statements have been issued by the federal and provincial governments, government-sponsored commissions and task forces, public and private "think tanks", business councils, as well as organizations conducting research in the areas of economics, science, and technology.

Essentially, the "emerging consensus" is that, due to a number of political and economic factors, the world economy has changed dramatically in the last 20 - 25 years (Government of Canada, 1991a; Province of British Columbia, 1989), with the result that the traditional economic dominance of North American and European nations has been drastically undermined. Economic competition, according to the consensus, has increased substantially. The products and services produced by the developed nations of the West are no longer assured growing markets either inside or outside of their respective national borders. Profoundly heightened competition is also thought to exist over where multi-national corporations will locate their production, distribution and administrative facilities.

Most of the analyses of Canadian prospects in the new global competitiveness derby suggest that Canada is not measuring up to international standards. For example, the Province of British Columbia (1989) declares, "there is a growing concern from both national and international institutions that Canada has not yet implemented policies required to maintain long-term prosperity in an increasingly competitive global economy" (p. 1).

The Educational Causes and Consequences of Canadian Non-Competitiveness

Among the many factors identified by mainstream analysts as contributing to Canada's allegedly dismal competitive position are problems with the Canadian education system (Government of Canada, 1991a). The Advisory Council on Adjustment (1989), which was struck by the federal government to enhance the capacity of Canada to adjust to Free Trade, stated: "the Council believes that the educational systems fail to prepare some significant segments of the Canadian population for the challenges of a modern society" (p. 31). Prime Minister Mulroney was more blunt, declaring to the Conservative Party faithful that the Canadian education system is "shortchanging many Canadians and imposing a severe burden on our national competitiveness" (Speirs, 1989).

As evidence of education's failures, analysts typically enumerate such factors as the high rate of adult illiteracy in Canada, the high drop-out rate from high school, the low number of graduates in science and technology, and the poor performance of Canadian students, relative to their international counterparts, in a variety of subject areas (Government of Canada, 1991a).

The deficiencies of the educational system are regarded as critically serious because it is argued that "human resources" are a major determinant of a country's competitiveness (Province of British Columbia, 1989, p. 23). The contention is that in the new, information-intensive economy, a highly-skilled and productive workforce is central to the maintenance of Canada's competitiveness and hence its continued prosperity. It is concluded, therefore, that Canada's prosperity is severely jeopardized by the poor productivity of its workforce coupled with the existence of skill shortages in key wealth-producing sectors of the economy (p. 8).

Our purported educational inadequacies are so grave that they have prompted numerous interest groups and advisory bodies to call for immediate measures aimed at more closely aligning the educational system with the needs of industry. For example, the Advisory Council on Adjustment (Government of Canada, 1989) recommended that "on an urgent basis, the first ministers find the appropriate vehicle to review the education/training systems in Canada in order to increase their responsiveness to the requirements of rapidly changing international and domestic economies" (p. 33). Specifically, "meeting the needs of industry" seems to require that the educational system: reduce levels of illiteracy in Canada; lower the numbers of high-school drop-outs; equip students with the "basics" of reading, writing and numeracy; incorporate the "new basics" of problem-solving, critical thinking, communication and social skills; and, finally, increase the numbers of graduates in science and technology. Seemingly in response to such calls, the federal government (Government of Canada, 1991a) has implicitly threatened an intrusion into provincial jurisdiction by legislating national educational standards, an initiative that is advocated by several economic and scientific advisory councils.

Critique

If adult education, and for that matter education in general, are to promote the cause of human emancipation, as opposed to the interests of advancing neo-conservatism, they must forsake their predominantly psychologistic orientations and engage in sustained social and political critique (Collins, 1991). The current pre-occupation in Canada with our economic competitiveness warrants such critical analysis. Penetrating questions need to be raised regarding the extent to which the government-business agenda for enhancing Canadian competitiveness promotes social and economic justice. Moreover, educators need to examine whether commonly advocated prescriptions for improving national competitiveness through educational reform preclude the possibility for developing a genuinely emancipatory practice of education.

The Dubious Benefits of Increased Competitiveness

Government and business leaders are quick to trumpet the widespread material benefits likely to accrue from educational reform and the resultant increase in national competitiveness (Government of Canada, 1991a, 1991b; Porter, 1991). The essential argument is that reducing illiteracy and raising the skill and knowledge levels of the population will raise the productivity of Canadian workers. "Enabling technologies" will be more readily incorporated into production processes and a "learning culture" will promote constant innovation and the development of "value-added" products and services. Canadian business will therefore be more profitable, resulting in large investments in job-creating enterprises and wage and benefit increases for Canadian workers. Moreover, increased government revenues will assure the continued financing of our social programs, which are said to be currently jeopardized by our lack of competitiveness.

This prosperity rationale advanced by government and business leaders rests upon at least four questionable assumptions. First, regarding the alleged economic benefits of literacy, Malicky (1991) asserts that "increased literacy is as likely to be an outcome of economic development as a cause of it" (p. 336). Citing historical, sociological and anthropological evidence, she suggests that poverty and the power structures of society are more responsible for low levels of literacy than the reverse (p. 336). The attainment of functional literacy, Malicky argues, does not necessarily produce such outcomes as employment, personal and economic growth, job advancement, or social integration (p. 336). Secondly, the incorporation of enabling technologies into production processes does not invariably raise the skill requirements of occupations or lead to job creation. Indeed, Braverman (1974) argued that the incorporation of technology into capitalist production leads to the elimination of jobs and to the "deskilling" of the remaining occupations. The deskilling of work, he claimed, leads to both worker alienation and a lowering of wages. Since the publication of Braverman's seminal thesis, much research has been conducted studying the impact of technology on the quantity and quality of work. Meta-analyses of this research has consistently found that there is no clear relationship between the incorporation of technology and either the skill requirements of occupations or the quantity of employment (Spenner, 1985; Betcherman 1990). The inconclusiveness of the data is confounded by methodological problems with much of the research (Spenner, 1985). Suffice to say that empirical evidence confirms predictions of neither economy-wide deskilling nor economy-wide upskilling. Thus, there is little evidence to support the common claim by Canadian business and government leaders that occupational skill requirements are uniformly increasing. Thirdly, the allegation that Canadian business perpetually suffers from a shortage of highly skilled labour often gives rise to the suggestion that unemployment levels in

Canada would be drastically reduced if the unemployed acquired the skills so desperately needed by industry. However, the relatively small numbers of high-skilled jobs in the economy makes this proposition doubtful. In this regard, Pannu (1988) asserts, "High levels of unemployment persist not so much for want of appropriate levels of education in the labour force but due to scarcity of good jobs" (p. 242). Finally, although the contention that increased productivity will lead to a corresponding increase in the standard of living of all Canadians is consistent with human capital theory, other theoretical traditions question the universality of the link between productivity and earnings (Konrad and Pfeffer, 1990). "For instance, the dual economy literature argues that workers in the periphery receive few returns on their productivity-related characteristics" (p. 258).

There is much reason to doubt, therefore, that the educational reforms proposed by industry and government will enhance the material prosperity and standard of living of all Canadians. Educators might very well align the education system more closely with the "needs of industry" without meeting the economic needs of the majority of Canadians. Indeed, there is a possibility that the proposed educational reforms would merely serve to increase the level of the talent pool from which industry could choose the select few who will enjoy prosperity.

The Hegemonic Possibilities of the Competitiveness Craze

McQuaig (1991) argues that multi-national corporate interests in Canada, in concert with the federal Cabinet and other governmental elites, are promoting an "agenda" that would result in the massive transfer of power and wealth from the public sector to the highest echelons of the private sector. She asserts that this agenda includes a reduction of taxation at the corporate and upper income levels, the elimination of national and inter-provincial trade barriers, a major contraction of social programs, and a reduced regulatory role for government in most aspects of society. McQuaig contends that this agenda would essentially eliminate the social "safety net" in Canada while raising unemployment and taxation levels for the middle and lower classes. According to McQuaig, the current hysteria over globalization and competitiveness is being assiduously promoted by Canadian government and business elites in order to rationalize the widespread suffering that the " business agenda" is bringing about for the majority of Canadians. With apparent success, business and government leaders are attempting to pre-empt debate on what amounts to a redesign of Canada by merely "chanting the mantra of Globalization: we have no choice, we must compete in the global marketplace....we have no choice, we must compete in the global marketplace" (pp. 21-22).

McQuaig's thesis raises the possibility that the competitiveness argument, as advanced by government and business leaders in Canada, typifies Gramsci's (1975) concept of "hegemony." Hegemony is the process whereby the predominant ideology, which largely represents the interests of the most powerful segments of society, is internalized by the less powerful. The oppressed members of society come to see the prevailing social, political and economic arrangements as immutable and reified and, consequently, are not inclined to actively attempt to change them. The hegemonic potential of the competitiveness imperative lies in its capacity to impede critical analysis of the issue. The danger is that "the invocation of Globalization, with all its mysterious powers" (McQuaig, p. 24), coupled with the much-publicized demise of Soviet Bloc communism, will be used to forestall debate on the merits of intensifying corporate power in Canada.

The agenda of educational reform could very well preclude the possibility that Canadians will develop the capacity to critically assess the ideological tactics of the most powerful segments of society. The Economic Council of Canada (1990) has documented that, coinciding with persistently high levels of unemployment, the majority of Canadian job growth in the 1980s occurred in low-pay, low-skill service sector occupations. If, in fact, under monopoly capitalism, the Canadian economy is structurally incapable of providing sufficient, high-quality employment for most of the population, the current agenda of educational reform can be seen as tactically advantageous for business and government elites. Highlighting the inadequacies of the educational system shifts the potentially embarrassing focus away from the structures of Canadian capitalism onto the skill deficiencies of the unemployed and underemployed. Moreover, re-orienting the educational enterprise towards an exclusive emphasis upon learning that is directly related to wealth creation can prevent the majority of Canadians from developing the capacity to critically assess their social, political and economic circumstances and, if necessary, to effect significant structural change.

An Alternate Course for Canadian Education

In setting a course for education in the 1990s, Canadians need not choose between the goals of democratic empowerment and preparation for employment. Work is of such centrality in our lives that, as part of its mandate, education should unquestionably prepare Canadians for employment. The question is whether the goal of employment preparation should dominate and, more significantly, in whose interests employment preparation should be pursued. The mandate of "meeting the needs of industry" can be readily broadened to include the needs of all stakeholders in industry. The needs of capital are not necessarily synonymous with those of labour and other stakeholders in society. "Once 'competitiveness' is accepted as a goal, all other values and goals are quickly brushed aside and subordinated to the needs of corporations and their bottom lines; the national good is reduced to what is good for the corporations" (The Canadian Auto Workers,1991, p. 3). Social, political, economic and cultural empowerment need to be the goals of all education, liberal and vocational alike. Distinctions between the aims of technical/vocational education and liberal education obscure the reality that "there can be no adequate technical education which is not liberal and no liberal education which is not technical" (Whitehead, 1929, p. 74).

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STRESS IN THE FARM FAMILY: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: This paper reports on a two-phase, multi-site, multi-visit study which explored the lived world of five farm families who were experiencing stress as a result of the farm crisis. Criteria for adult education programs were developed, based on the themes which characterized the typical problems of modern farm families.

Résumé: Ce papier fait rapport à l'étude de deux phases, multisite, et multivisitée explorant le monde existant de cinq familles agricoles qui ont vécu des moments de grande tension au résultat de la situation critique sur la ferme. Des critères ont été dévelopés pour les programmes d'éducation aux adultes basés sur des sujets qui caractérisent les problèmes typiques des familles agricoles modernes.

Agriculture is especially important in Saskatchewan. Saskatchewan has about 60,000 farms and a total agricultural land base of more than 65 million acres - nearly 40% of all the farm land in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1987). However, Saskatchewan has few support services for farm families. Programs have concentrated on technological advances and improved managerial skills as a means for the farm to succeed. Far less attention has been paid to the people in agriculture. Even less attention has been paid to investigating the lived experience of farm families in a period of rapid change and adverse conditions.

This paper reports on a naturalistic, two-phase, multi-visit study which explored the experiences of five farm families who were experiencing stress as a result of the farm crisis. The informants were chosen by means of criterion-based selection. Criteria for selection were that the informants must live on farms within the boundaries of Cypress Hills Regional College in southwestern Saskatchewan, be married women with children, experienced in farm life and considered by third parties to be able to provide insightful information about topics of concern and importance to farm families. Via a combination of snowballing strategies and referral from a farmer-adult educator, an expert on farm stress, several possible informants were identified, from which five women from diverse sites were selected as most suitable to provide the study with a wide range of perspectives.

The principles of adult education formed the theoretical framework. In particular, Brookfield's (1986) effective practice in facilitating learning guided the research:
(1) Adults engage in learning voluntarily.
(2) Attention to increasing adults' sense of self-worth underlies all facilitation efforts.
(3) Facilitators and learners collaborate in all phases of program planning, from needs assessment to generating evaluative criteria.

(4) The heart of facilitation is praxis: learners and facilitators are engaged in a continual process of activity, reflection upon activity and collaborative analysis of activity.
(5) Facilitation fosters a spirit of critical reflection whereby adults come to question many of their lives which are culturally constructed.
(6) The aim of facilitation is the nurturing of self-directed, empowered individuals who will see themselves as proactive, rather than reactive people buffeted by uncontrollable circumstances.

Method

The dialogical research methods followed Freire's investigation of generative themes. Generative themes are a "concrete representation of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values and challenges, as well as the obstacles which impede man's full humanization". (Freire, 1970, p. 91) Data were collected through unstructured, indepth interviews which took place in the homes of informants. Phase I interviews were open-ended conversations. In Phase II, questions focused on the themes which had emerged in Phase I and on the changes which had occured in the interval between Phase I in 1987 and Phase II in 1989. A set of computer programs for the analysis of qualitative data, the Ethnograph, were used to sort the data into categories and then themes. The qualitative data were backed up by an extensive literature review.

Findings

Grounded theory was developed from the data provided by the five informants. Major themes were found to be "We're Scared"; "They Just Don't Understand"; "It's All Controlled by Somebody Else"; "There's Noone Here to Help"; and "You Keep Trying Because of Your Kids". The roots of the farm crisis were perceived to be global in nature and beyond the control of the individual farmer. A sense of powerlessness emerged as the paramount theme.

Participants feared for their economic survival. A combination of low prices and high costs were seen to be the reason for the deteriorating farm economy. Participants expressed fears for the future of farms, communities and province. Feelings of depression were attributed to the uncertainty of their futures.

Participants felt unappreciated and misunderstood by the nonfarming public. Government subsidies were a source of rural-urban contention. The media were thought to be a factor in the fostering of non-farm misunderstandings.

The families perceived that their livlihoods were ruled by governments, corporations and financial institutions. They demonstrated hopelessness, helplessness, anger and cynicism when they talked of the domination of bureaucratic systems.

Supports were not available to enable participants to deal with their shared fears and feelings of powerlessness. Government personnel and experts were perceived to be self-serving, negligent and non-caring. Community supports were perceived inaccessible and inadequate, educational programs inappropriate and inaccessible, government policies ineffective and unfair.

Concern for present and future quality of life for children was uppermost in the minds of participants. Although the intergenerational heritage of the family farm was important for the present generation of adults, they were afraid to encourage their children to farm. Parents were determined that children receive an education and that they participate in the social activities of their urban counterparts. A willingness to sacrifice their own wants and needs in favour of those of their children was demonstrated.

By 1989 some additional themes had emerged. Concern over environmental issues had become more obvious. There were signs that marriage relationships had deteriorated due to the economic problems of the farm business. The physical effects of severe and prolonged stress had become evident.

Implications for Adult Education

The dialogical research methods used in this study demonstrated an educational strategy for empowerment. The investigational process was akin to Freire's "conscientization" whereby participants were engaged in a prolonged process of critically examining the realities of their occupational and social worlds and unveiling the causes of their oppression. Freire (1970) called this process the "pedagogy of the first stage" where problems of the oppressed are dealt with by taking into account their behaviours and their view of the world. To begin to overcome the situation of oppression, participants must first critically recognize its causes.

In the process of investigation, the researcher-subject or teacher-student relationship was overcome. In essence, the participants were the teachers. Content of the interviews was not predetermined and participants volunteered topics which were of relevance to them. Throughout the interviews, strategies of empowerment were used. The everyday knowledge of participants was valued and validated. The researcher role was as a collaborator and fellow farmer, not as an expert. Diversity of ideas was promoted and content of each interview varied with the way the participants perceived their own realities. Critical reflection was fostered and towards the end of the investigational/educational process, it appeared that participants had come to see themselves as more proactive.

Technological and farm management courses are typical of educational programs offered to Saskatchewan farmers. Educational programs were believed to be attracting only the most successful farmers. Participants believed that the needs of less successful constituents were not being met. Shared responses were that no traditional educational programs would alleviate the problems farmers were experiencing. Major farm stressors were perceived as being weather and money and they believed that no programs could provide solutions. Similarities could be found between these Saskatchewan farmers and the South American peasants of whom Freire (1970) wrote. Governments, large corporations and financial institutions governed these farm families by remote control. Paternalistic government subsidies rather than fair commodity prices ensured loss of control over their labour and the products of their labour. The themes generated support the message that these farm families, too, felt that they were lacking the power to control their livlihoods.

These farm men and women did not have the time or money to spend on educational events which would not help them. They did need programs which would empower them. Farm men and women needed to be empowered to promote themselves and their product as valuable to the nation. They needed to have the sense of confidence and self-worth to empower them to confront hostile bankers and intimidating chemical companies. Farmers needed to be empowered to take advantage of their position as self-employers to create public awareness of the injustices in the social and economic systems affecting farmers.

If a vital rural way of life is to be preserved, people must be empowered to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities. For adult education to be a liberating force for farmers, educators must reject the banking approach and carry out educational projects with, not for, the people. Traditional approaches to adult education must be abandoned in favour of dialogical methods. While technical and management information may be important for some farm groups, the adult educator must go beyond mere dissemination of information to use approaches which empower farmers to become subjects rather than objects of their worlds. Farm people must begin to analyze their situations and develop strategies to change them.

The results of this study augmented the minimal body of knowledge in rural studies in Saskatchewan. The qualitative findings have implications for social policy and for practitioners in agricultural, educational and mental health agencies.

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FACTEURS DE CONTINGENCE DU CONTRÔLE DU PROCESSUS D'ENSEIGNEMENT A DISTANCE PAR AUDIOTÉLÉCONFÉRENCE*

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La recherche en audiotéléconférence demeure embryonnaire et aucune étude ne s'est penchée sur le contrôle perçu par l'éducateur de la transaction éducative. La méthode de comparaison constante (Glaser & Strauss) a guidé l'analyse de huit entrevues et a fait émerger les facteurs du contrôle du processus d'enseignement par audiotéléconférence. Nous exposons ici les facteurs de contingence et leurs propriétés.

Research in audioteleconferencing is scarce and no study has explored the control perceived by the instructor of the educational transaction. The constant comparison method (Glaser & Strauss) guided the analysis of eight interviews and revealed the control factors of the teaching process by audioteleconferencing. The contingency factors are described here along with their properties.

La recherche en éducation à distance s'est intéressée principalement à l'étudiant en s'appuyant sur un cadre théorique fondé sur l'autonomie (Wedemeyer, 1971; Moore, 1973; Delling, 1987) ou sur la communication bi-directionnelle (Holmberg, 1985, 1986). Ces approches convenaient à la nature des techniques utilisées soit le cours par correspondance et la télévision éducative. En présence d'une technologie plus sophistiquée, l'audiotéléconférence, la transaction éducative ressemble davantage à celle d'une salle de classe traditionnelle bien que les étudiants demeurent invisibles à l'enseignant. Garrison et Baynton (1987) proposent un modèle dans lequel l'enseignant est réintégré et qui est fondé sur la notion de contrôle du processus d'enseignement-apprentissage à distance. Le modèle proposé comprend trois micro-dimensions - l'indépendance (independence), la compétence (proficiency) et le soutien (support) - et trois macro-dimensions- l'enseignant, l'étudiant et le contenu -. C'est l'atteinte d'un équilibre entre les micro-éléments en interaction avec les macro-éléments qui détermine le degré de contrôle du processus d'apprentissage. Les micro-éléments du contrôle tels que définis par Garrison (1989) caractérisent l'étudiant (autonomie, habiletés et soutien reçu) et l'absence des facteurs de contrôle relatifs à l'éducateur ne permet pas de saisir la réalité de la transaction. Ce modèle a été testé empiriquement par Baynton (1989) cependant seuls les facteurs relatifs au contrôle de l'étudiant ont été examinés. D'autre part, les études qui ont abordé le concept de contrôle chez l'enseignant portent sur les caractéristiques individuelles en utilisant le locus of control (Rotter, 1966) et en privilégiant des variables relatives au produit de la transaction éducative. Pour Weisz (1986, p. 227), émettre un jugement exact sur la capacité d'un individu à contrôler un évènement dépend d'une évaluation précise de a)la contingence de l'évènement et de b)la compétence de l'individu. L'identification par Weisz des facteurs de contingence et de compétence en

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psychosociologie pourrait servir le champ de l'éducation à distance. Ainsi la recherche en audiotéléconférence demeure embryonnaire et, à notre connaissance, aucune étude publiée ne s'est encore penchée sur le contrôle du processus d'enseignement en présence de cette technologie.

Méthodologie

Les méthodes qualitatives se prêtent aux recherches qui ont pour objet le développement d'une théorie. Pour cette raison, Minnis encourage les chercheurs en éducation à distance à faire appel à ce type d'approche exploratoire (1985, p. 189). Selon Marshall (1985, p. 356), la méthode qualitative permet la découverte de variables non identifiées ainsi que les liens qui peuvent les unir. La présente étude s'est inspirée de la méthode de Glaser et Strauss (1967) pour faire émerger les facteurs du contrôle du processus d'enseignement par audiotéléconférence. Tesch considère la théorie émergeante comme une méthode visant principalement la découverte de régularités; elle conduit à l'identification et à la catégorisation d'éléments ainsi qu'à l'exploration de leurs liens (1990, p. 72). Par la méthode de comparaison constante, le chercheur codifie et analyse simultanément les données dans le but de développer des concepts. En comparant continuellement des incidents spécifiques (unités de sens) dans les données, le chercheur raffine ces concepts, identifie leurs propriétés, explore les liens qui les unissent et les intègrent ultimement dans une théorie cohérente.

Cueillette et traitement des données

Notre population est constituée d'éducateurs anglophones qui ont récemment diffusé des cours par audiotéléconférence dans la Province de l'Alberta. Nos répondants ont été sélectionnés à partir d'une liste de 12 professeurs selon leur disponibilité; huit répondants ont suffi pour saturer les catégories. Dans la mesure où ce sont les perceptions des professeurs qui nous intéressent et non pas l'observation de leur comportement, l'entrevue nous est apparue la meilleure technique pour recueillir leur vision de la transaction éducative par audiotéléconférence. Nous avons élaboré un guide d'entrevue semi-structuré pour faciliter la cueillette des données. Les entrevues ont été transcrites pour qu'elles deviennent des données manipulables (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982, p. 93). Pour traiter les données, nous avons fait appel au logiciel Ethnograph qui est bien adapté aux études qui s'inspirent de la méthode de comparaison constante. L'analyse de contenu a produit une classification de catégories saturées qui a été soumise à l'examen des répondants afin d'en vérifier l'authenticité.

Analyse des résultats

Les résultats indiquent que le contrôle du processus d'enseignement par audiotéléconférence est fonction de trois facteurs - contingence, compétence et confort - . La catégorie contingence regroupe les facteurs liés à l'environnement dits externes vis-à-vis desquels les répondants ne perçoivent pas avoir vraiment de contrôle. La catégorie compétence regroupe les facteurs psychosociaux dits internes vis-à-vis desquels les répondants perçoivent avoir un certain contrôle, notamment en termes des stratégies d'enseignement qu'ils peuvent développer. La catégorie confort relève du domaine affectif et résulte de l'interaction des facteurs de contingence et de compétence. Nous nous limiterons à présenter ici les facteurs de contingence et leurs propriétés ainsi que les liens qui les unissent aux facteurs de compétence et de confort.

1. La technologie

Le facteur technologie représente le medium d'enseignement utilisé- l'audiotéléconférence - et l'équipement complémentaire qui peut lui être associé comme, par exemple, le téléscripteur. Les sous-catégories - **équipement, rétroaction, isolement, dynamique dans les sites et temps de diffusion** - sont les principales contingences associées à la technologie.

a. L'équipement

L'équipement revient comme un obstacle majeur pendant la transaction éducative. Les ruptures de communication inhérentes au système de téléphonie sont malheureusement chroniques et une source fréquente d'irritation. Les répondants étant à la merci de difficultés techniques, ils partagent l'opinion qu'ils n'ont pas de contrôle quant à leur occurrence.

b. La rétroaction

Le simple fait de ne pas pouvoir voir la réaction des étudiants rend plus difficile la communication. Avec l'audiotéléconférence, le professeur ne dispose plus du gestuel, du non-verbal et tout le renforcement qui peut lui être associé. Les répondants s'accordent pour dire que l'audiotéléconférence ne permet pas d'obtenir une rétroaction naturelle, instantanée et, par conséquent, il est parfois difficile de déterminer si une session fonctionne vraiment bien.

c. L'isolement

Le fait d'être dissimulé derrière un microphone et de conserver un certain anonymat par son invisibilité transforme sensiblement la dynamique de la transaction éducative. En raison de l'isolement, les possibilités de rencontre ou de contact individuel avec les étudiants sont très limitées. Ce sentiment d'isolement né de la distance contribue à percevoir avoir un contrôle diminué sur la transaction éducative.

d. La dynamique dans les sites

La réalité à laquelle nos professeurs font face est celle d'être généralement enfermés dans une pièce et les étudiants doivent appuyer sur la touche microphone pour communiquer avec eux. Les répondants déplorent le fait qu'ils n'ont pas vraiment une idée précise du processus d'interaction qui se déroule dans les sites. Certains étudiants peuvent dominer la transaction tandis que d'autres demeurent exclus: situation qui en salle de classe régulière est facilement reconnaissable. La dynamique dans les sites peut être encouragée en structurant la transaction pour privilégier les échanges cependant les répondants perçoivent qu'ils n'ont qu'un contrôle partiel de ce processus.

e. Le temps de diffusion

Les répondants ont le sentiment de ne pas avoir assez de temps pour transmettre un minimum de contenu tout en établissant un contact avec les étudiants. Cette contingence est attribuable au fait que le rythme d'une session par audiotéléconférence est plus lent en raison du temps nécessaire à la rétroaction de l'auditoire et du nombre de sites à couvrir.

2. Le soutien

La catégorie **soutien** représente l'aide dont disposent les répondants et se divise en deux sous-catégories: les **services institutionnels** et les **ressources humaines**.

a. Les services institutionnels

Les services offerts par l'institution sont le plus souvent de nature technique et/ou relèvent de la formation. Cette forme de soutien requiert au préalable un appui idéologique et matériel destiné à promouvoir la technologie. L'absence de services adéquats peut nuire au bon fonctionnement du système et occasionner de nombreuses frustrations. Parmi les services essentiels, la formation occupe une place importante pour nos répondants soucieux de mieux appréhender la technologie. Certains déplorent le manque et même parfois l'absence totale de soutien dans ce domaine.

b. Les ressources humaines

Les répondants s'entendent pour dire qu'une forme d'aide importante est celle de la présence d'un technicien compétent, responsable du bon fonctionnement de l'équipement. Quelques répondants ont consulté de façon informelle un ou des collègues qui ont eu l'expérience du medium. Un confrère qui enseigne par audiotéléconférence est une ressource humaine que plusieurs ont suggéré d'observer dans le studio. Certains pensent qu'enseigner un cours en collaboration avec un autre collègue peut s'avérer une excellente approche surtout si ce dernier connaît bien la technologie.

3. La matière enseignée

La catégorie **matière enseignée** fait référence à la complexité de la matière à transmettre en termes du degré d'abstraction du contenu, de la séquence logique des concepts ainsi que leur représentation symbolique. La matière qui favorise l'échange verbal et ne nécessite pas une représentation visuelle complexe est plus facile à transmettre pour l'éducateur lorsque l'audiotéléconférence est le medium d'échange. La nature de la matière enseignée est perçue comme une contingence qui complique la transaction éducative par audiotéléconférence: les cours dont l'orientation est théorique ne favorisent pas la discussion et cela est exacerbé par le medium; les cours dont l'orientation est pratique se prêtent davantage au dialogue mais exigent de l'éducateur une préparation spéciale pour illustrer le contenu en l'absence de renforcement visuel.

4. L'auditoire

La catégorie **auditoire** représente les étudiants dans les sites et se divise en deux sous-catégories: les **caractéristiques** et la **distribution**.

a. Les caractéristiques

Les caractéristiques de l'auditoire sont, dans la présente étude, celles appartenant à une population d'étudiants adultes. Les répondants font remarquer la différence d'attitude entre les jeunes adultes inexpérimentés de la salle de classe traditionnelle au niveau sous-gradué et les adultes particulièrement motivés des cours diffusés par audiotéléconférence. L'auditoire est généralement composé d'adultes qui, en raison de leurs expériences diverses, apportent une perspective qui est le reflet de leur maturité. L'éducateur peut tirer parti des avantages que présente cette contingence. Il semble être plus facile d'enseigner par audiotéléconférence au niveau gradué; des approches comme la formation de groupes de travail sont mieux acceptées par l'auditoire ce qui contribue à un meilleur contrôle de la transaction.

b. La distribution

La distribution de l'auditoire représente le nombre et la taille des groupes répartis dans les différents sites. La distribution des étudiants dans chaque site semble varier grandement. La taille des groupes n'étant pas uniforme le plus souvent, cela complique les stratégies de nos répondants pour encourager le travail en équipes dans les sites. Il a été suggéré de fixer une limite d'inscriptions aux cours par audiotéléconférence pour que le professeur ne soit pas submergé.

Signification des résultats

Les facteurs de contingence que nous venons d'exposer - technologie, soutien, matière enseignée, auditoire - peuvent être placés sur un continuum où chacun interviendra à des degrés divers selon les conditions de l'environnement. Pour une transaction donnée, ils se combineront plus ou moins favorablement entre eux et coexisteront avec les facteurs de compétence et de confort qui représentent la prochaine étape d'analyse de la recherche. A ce stade, il est possible de dire que les contingences associées à l'audiotéléconférence affectent le degré de contrôle perçu du processus d'enseignement. Ce résultat semble confirmer l'existence du facteur contingence de la situation proposé par Weisz comme composante du contrôle; nous rejoignons aussi Garrison (1989, p. 27) lorsqu'il explique que le contrôle se manifeste par la possibilité[1] d'influencer le cours d'évènements. On peut établir un lien entre les facteurs de contingence de la présente étude et les facteurs-indépendance et soutien - dans le modèle de Garrison qui constituent des facteurs de contingence pour l'étudiant. La poursuite de l'analyse devrait indiquer que le contrôle du processus d'enseignement par audiotéléconférence est perçu à travers le degré de confort ressenti par l'éducateur pendant la transaction. Ce confort fluctuerait selon l'équilibre qui existe entre la nature et le nombre des contingences auxquelles l'éducateur fait face et la nature et le degré de compétence qu'il est capable de produire. Nous anticipons que l'étude viendra clarifier la notion de contrôle perçu en situation d'enseignement par audiotéléconférence en exposant son caractère tri-dimensionnel.

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[1] s'apparente à la contingence.

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CASAE PEACE GROUP SYMPOSIUM

Peace, Political Alternatives and Social Action

This symposium focuses on new challenges facing adult educators for cultural and social transformation on the basis of rapid change in our social, political and academic institutions. Growing public awareness and concerns over the environment give peace education for adults a new imperative. Social and community development now also include facilitating a search for new values with an emphasis on healing.

La paix, les alternatives politiques et l'action sociale

Ce colloque se concentre sur les nouveaux défis qui se présentent aux éducateurs des adultes pour faciliter la transformation sociale qui serait basée sur les changements rapides dans les institutions académiques, politiques et sociales. La conscience croissante des questions écologiques dans le grand public donne un nouvel impératif au sujet de la paix dans l'éducation pour les adultes. Aujourd'hui, le développement social et communautaire doit aussi faciliter la recherche pour de nouvelles valeurs avec l'accent sur la guérison.

Participants: Budd Hall, facilitator (Faculty, Adult Education Department, O.I.S.E.) with
Rose A. Dyson (Doctoral Student, Adult Education Department, O.I.S.E.),
Sam Kounosu, (Retired Faculty, Physics Dept, University of Lethbridge),
Chris Lea (Toronto Artist, Federal Green Party, Ontario) and
Bill McQueen, (M.Ed. Graduate, Adult Education Department, O.I.S.E.).

Part I: Adult Education In A Rapidly Changing World

Rose A. Dyson

Is it possible for the human race and life on earth to survive? This question is no longer central only to the concerns of peace activists and environmentalists. As their agenda captures more and more of the popular imagination, educators everywhere are experiencing pressure to respond. For adult educators, this has led to a renewed interest in understanding and responding to the trends of modern society.

Increasingly, we are recognizing the need to acknowledge, understand and incorporate into decision-making procedures, more life and earth enhancing models for sustainable development. As the old social and political infrastructures crumble, shift and are re-defined, new values are being sought. A kind of midwifery is required from those who educate adults, in order to minimize the violence and disruption to ordinary human needs, both real and imagined, that transition and social upheaval inevitably precipitate.

As Alvin Toffler predicted, rapid change is an integral part of the currently shifting social and political paradigm. In a few short years the Berlin Wall has fallen, the U.S.S.R. no longer exists, the North American economy remains in a slump (despite the Gulf War and the promises of free trade), and underdeveloped countries are no longer able to advance their own interests by mediating between the two superpowers. Such countries are now fearful of exclusion from the new economic world order.

In Canada, constitutional reform preoccupies political leaders along with rising deficits and inevitable budget cuts. Pressing environmental issues seem to be slipping further down the list of public priorities, despite repeated warnings that the '90's will be the decade of decision for or against sustainability.

A key component in these shifting tides of human interaction is modern communications technology - informing, educating and entertaining us both alternately and simultaneously, with the profit motive remaining constant as mass media proliferates and reshape our lives. One component in the floundering U.S. economy that remains healthy and is growing, while it competes with military arms as the number one export, is popular culture. Heavy metal rock music, video cassettes, movies, television programs and computer games with signs and symbols that socialize youth for violent, consumer driven behaviour are the norm. According to the literature on the subject, this booming industry is having a detrimental effect on a growing number of people of all ages, throughout the world.

Clearly, these trends are at odds with those necessary for human survival. Unless we begin to address the problem of cultural pollution, it is unlikely that we can make any real progress on other environmental and peace issues. Thomas Berry, author, Catholic theologian and cultural historian says we need a new story, new values and new definitions about progress and the meaning of life. Facilitating the process of their discovery is the most important challenge facing adult educators today.

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Part II: Physics, Society and Peace Education

Sam Kounosu

In a course called "Physics and Society", I came to learn with my students about the problems of science in the modern world. For this, my professional training had given me very little preparation to make sense of social responsibility. This led me to reflect on the nature of science and science education. In the professional training I had, Max Weber's famous motto: "If one is not willing to put on blinders, one might as well give up science and go watch movies" was often cited. Also, the body-politics of competition within the profession taught us "the way it is" in the social reality. Just to survive in a field of one's specialty required one to be insensitive, uncaring and unthinking about anything outside. One was forced into a pigeonhole, which is alienating and painful. But in the course I was supposed to be "teaching", I came to read Weber's Science As A Profession, and found that he wrote the statement with apparent anguish from not being able to find alternatives to the "Scientific Method" that he saw coming to dominate.

Science was meant to be liberation of human spirit so that it might soar to "touch the Sun and become a star", as Native American Prayer used to say. But, somehow, it turned into a blinder so that its "Will To Power" would go on, irrespective of human sufferings elsewhere. In the discourses with students and people in the local community about such problems of science, I have come to realize that there is a metaphysical assumption behind the "European Science" that Weber represented. This basic assumption is that the universe is atomistic, local, linear and mechanical. Metaphysics has justified the Leviathan world view, where humans are fighting "Wars Of All Against All", and in turn has served in the formation of the ideologies that the modern world has come to embrace and suffer from.

In the meantime, however, the discipline of physics itself has undergone revolutionary changes. We are now entering into "postmodern" consciousness. If we do not question the basic metaphysical assumptions of what has been taken as "scientific" in the past, the human race may not survive. In the popular "new wave" literature on science, one can observe both fear and hope for the coming world. On one hand, we have begun to see the end of the road that we have been pushing ahead upon as if possessed by "manifest destiny" or "addiction". One the other hand, we also see new possibilities like the one stemming from the realization that what has been regarded as "objective knowing" is actually participatory and "sharing of meaning". I think this also has implications for peace education. Unfortunately, the politics of institutional education is such that it fails to do critical examination of the "science" on which it stands or pretends to stand. Nor does it explore the possibilities that we have come to sense. Many of us feel Weber's anguish afresh.

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Part III: Green Economics

Chris Lea

Green Politics is about fairness and equity. Consequently, green economics calls for a new perspective on our present approach to financial organization. For example, the Government of Canada has billions of dollars in assets but most of this equity is not in bank vaults. When the Canadian government runs a deficit it usually borrows money from the smaller pools of private equity in Canada or from foreign sources.

The Bank of Canada only issues about 2 percent of the money in Canada. This 2 percent can be loaned to the Government of Canada at no cost, like a transaction between a husband and a wife. It was not always this way. During World War II the Bank of Canada issued about 50 percent of the money. When money was needed, the Bank created a debt and lent the money to the Government of Canada at no interest.

For 7 years there was enough money to make armaments and to support a large military force stationed overseas. Some of the newly created capital left with the soldiers and never came back. In 1945, the Government of Canada spent less than 1 percent of taxation revenue on debt financing.

After the war, the fractional reserve banking system was restored and since that time much of the impetus of the postwar economic expansion came from governments creating debt. Exponentially, every 8 years since, public debt has doubled. Without some change in the fraction of currency guaranteed by public assets, a financial collapse seems inevitable.

Entrenched and powerful, our existing economic system is in many ways successful. In Canada, we have tools that offer a comfortable existence unimaginable to our ancestors, or for that matter, to many people living today in underdeveloped countries.

But our economic system is in crisis and living standards are dropping for many. Great changes in business patterns and priorities, a new focus on global opportunities rather than on local ones and a real reduction of available capital combine to adversely effect our economic system. Excessive taxation, a sad history of industrial reinvestment, the export of profits by Canadian banks, and the underfunding of education and social services combine to decrease our standard of living.

The Green Party program calls for a comprehensive ecological transformation of human society. Green economic policy advocates the creation of new systems of mutual aid to create capital and initiative, as well as new structures to support more self-sufficient and equitable economics in balance with nature.

Part IV: Safe Sharing: Circles of Adults Learning and Participating

William McQueen

A traditional and formal setting in which adults will be found throughout society these days is amidst a circle of chairs, an easel with a large pad of newsprint, and a magic marker for note taking. These adults might be considering the fate of their work group which faces impending layoffs and what to do about it; or the kind of written constitution that will truly reflect the aspirations of Canadians. They may be exploring the implication of the Earth's depleting ozone layer. Informally, they may be huddled on the shop floor deciding how to bring pressure on management to repair a protective guard for a machine, or on the front lawn of a neighbour's yard, talking out how they can save a group of trees from the axe of the local electrical power company.

Other circles of adults learning these days are healing circles devised by indigenous peoples, ecology groupings, and numerous self-help groups, such as the communities of Adult Children of Alcoholics or Co-dependence Anonymous. Socialization of persons within family systems and the social systems of patriarchal and hierarchical society can occur in many dysfunction ways. This process often impairs our "vital powers" and the construction of our valuing system. Because we are social beings, we must pass through many transitions to regain personal control through sharing of life experience in facing mutual challenges in our communities. Some would argue that unlike therapy groups healing circles offer safe and protected opportunities to share with others.

Following a recent seminar, a reporter described the sharing between persons in the 'Talking Circle', where each member may speak about any matter, while others listen without comment or judgment, as fostering

> equality and democracy, by granting each member of the group their own speaking time. Whatever is spoken in the circle remains there; it is not repeated outside of the circle. After the circle there was a feeling of closeness in the room. (Orechia :1991)

We must heal ourselves as a species, and in the process, the Earth System, too. Access to our vital powers through continuous and lifelong learning is inextricably connected to the ultimate survival of our species. Thus, all forms of education occur in context. It is a historical process of survival that involves the growth and development of the individual continuously from birth within the social process of survival. The processes of community and the individual are reciprocal.

At various stages of our growth as a species we reach paradigms of change that challenge both the integrated wholeness of individuals and groupings of members. We must recognize and meet these new challenges, seek new solutions and a new balance. Therefore, the practise of adult education must seek both to prepare individuals to make personal transitions as well as to lead others through species-wide transitions. Non-judgemental and safe sharing are means we can adopt to assist adults in learning to address the needs of the decades ahead.

These transitions will be fraught with turbulence and violence. There will be new and old social practises and ways of being overlapping and in contention with each other. There is a search for temporary resolution and peace sought by each cell of the society, according to its needs. The ideas and `inspiration' that we simultaneously draw on individually and collectively to solve our individual and species problems are drawn from personal experience, and from the ideas generated by the dominant classes of society and transmitted through a system of social institutions. This produces a quandary and conflict for the individual seeking to act on personal truth, and who is hindered by moribund ideas circulated by institutions seeking to preserve the old paradigm.

The principle of safe sharing assists the developing of clarity and better connectedness and opposes the psychology of social control. Safe sharing assists the individual to relocate the centre of decision-making and locus of self to construct an internal valuing system based within, rather than from without.

Safe sharing can help learners to reclaim their centre of decision-making capacity and can increase their ability to participate in the community at large. Such stretching toward actualization and a new balance by the species, challenges adult education to address the needs of the decade and century ahead.

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FROM TEMPLE TO BATTLEFIELD: CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES IN THE MUSEUM

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Though Canadian museums have come to represent and attract conservative elements in society, they are experiencing escalating pressures to respond to broader social needs. This analysis suggests that museums are undergoing a shift from "object-centred" to "people-centred" practice, corresponding to an ideological shift from functionalist to interpretivist paradigms. This trend is strongly promoted by forces outside the museum, but is resisted by internal and systemic barriers.

Traditionnellement, les musées au Canada ont représenté la pensée d'une élite sociale et politique, mais récemment des besoins sociaux plus large font imposer des changements. Cette analyse suggère que les musées se modisient d'une orientation objective à une orientation subjective, d'après un changement idéologique. Les influences à l'exterieur de la musée encouragent cette tendance, mais des obstacles structurales offre de la résistance.

Introduction

The museum is a conservative institution in more ways than one. From its very beginning, the museum has conserved objects which represent an individual or collective past. It has become a symbol for the preservation of historical values and aesthetic judgements, and thus has come to represent and attract conservative elements in our society, those interested in maintaining the status quo.

This image of the museum may dominate popular discussions, but it does not accurately reflect the changes in the modern museum community. Throughout this century, museums have experienced increasing pressure to respond to public needs, and basic assumptions of the field have been questioned. Within the museum community itself, made up of museum staff and volunteers, governing bodies, and professional organizations, there is little consensus as to the current role of the museum in society.

Defining the museum

In over 2,000 years of existence in the Western world, since the ancient Greeks called them Mouseion, museums have been named and defined in different ways. As I am concerned with the contemporary museum, I'll use a frequently cited definition adopted in 1974 by the International Council of Museums , a division of UNESCO, and revised in 1986, which has since been adopted by the Canadian Museums Association: "A museum is a non-profitmaking, permanent institution in the service of society and of its development, and open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment, material evidence of man and his environment"(Statutes of the International Council of Museums, 1986).

This influential definition introduces distinctive features which characterize the museum. It lists the multiple functions which are most often entrenched in the structure of large museums, where acquisition, conservation, research, communication, and exhibition functions are undertaken by departments with staff specialists dedicated to each function.

The educational nature of the museum, which is recognized in the ICOM definition, is interpreted very differently in different contexts. But museums are most often considered institutions with an educational role, as Schroeder(1970) recognized in his typology of adult learning systems. In most museums, education has been isolated within its own department, its staff required to compete with curators, conservators, registrars, and other staff for limited resources.

There is no question in the field of adult education that museums are significant providers of lifelong education. Which museum activities are considered educational depends on the definition of education used. Many writers (Apps, 1989; Chobot, 1989; Crawford, 1984) acknowledge only certain programs taught by specialists to particular audiences, ranging from school groups to adults. I prefer to use a more inclusive definition which embraces all organized activities to facilitate learning, including most museum exhibitions, collections study programs, and volunteer programs.

Identifying ideologies

Museums, like other socially constructed institutions, are built and operated in accordance with specific assumptions. These are implicit, laid in the very foundations of museum work. To unearth and examine these assumptions, I've adopted a tool developed by sociologists Burrell and Morgan (1979) for analysis of organizational theory. This framework is portable, and has been used to illuminate a broad range of social phenomena (Adams, 1988; Boshier,1990).

Burrell and Morgan (1979) have identified two key dimensions for analysis of social theories, which they use to describe four paradigms reflecting different ideologies - comprehensive patterns of beliefs about social reality. A subjective-objective dimension forms a horizontal axis, or continuum. This represents an individual's understanding of reality, knowledge, and human nature. At one extreme, an objectivist approach views the world as an external, objective reality, where knowledge can be explained and predicted with regular and causal relationships. At the other extreme, a subjectivist approach places reality in the human consciousness, stressing the importance of the subjective experience of individuals in creating the social world, and concerned with explaining and understanding.

A vertical dimension represents assumptions about the nature of society. This paper will follow Boshier's (1990) use of the axis for analyzing approaches to education. The vertical continuum represents the extent to which activities reinforce (at the lower end) or challenge (at the upper end) existing power relationships. The four quadrants demarcated by these axes represent different paradigms, distinctive and cohesive frameworks of assumptions about social and scientific reality. To be situated in a particular paradigm is to see the world in a particular way.

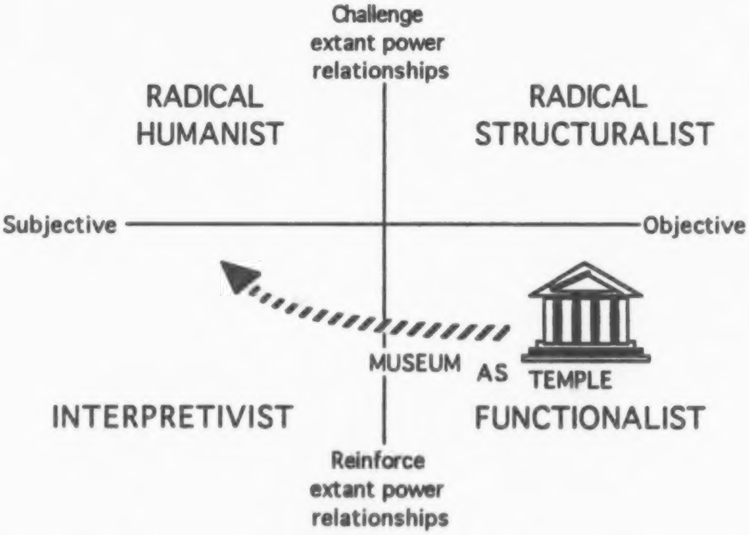

Figure 1. The museum in four paradigms (based on Boshier, 1990; Burrell & Morgan, 1979)

From their research, Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest that it is very rare for individuals to switch paradigms, since it requires major changes in overall theoretical orientations and assumptions. When a theorist does shift position in this way, it stands out clearly as a major break in tradition. For example, they identify the "epistemological break" between the work of the young Marx and the mature Marx as a paradigmatic shift from radical humanism to radical structuralism.

A diversity of personal ideologies may be found in the museum community. Yet most museum activities are firmly ensconced in the lower half of the resulting intellectual 'map', maintaining the status quo. In recent decades, so-called dramatic changes in museum philosophy and practise have resulted in a horizontal shift, from an objective stance to a subjective one. This paper charts the uneven course of this lateral movement.

The museum as Temple

Throughout its long history, the museum has come to stand for certain sacred values in the Western world. Despite legislation in the nineteenth century which transformed museums from semi-private institutions into major organs of the state, dedicated to public enlightenment, these museums did not represent the lives or concerns of all the people. Instead they displayed the acquisitions of imperialism, and the achievements of "high culture"(Bennett,1988).

Canadian museum development has a much shorter history, but has nevertheless been strongly influenced by these trends. While government and institutional policies have promoted public accessibility (Key, 1973), most Canadian museums have been built to foster feelings of civic pride, especially in their government or 'cultured' patrons. Like their counterparts in the U.S. and Britain, most are built larger than life, and are intended to be centres of excellence (Chadwick, 1980; Key, 1973). These ideas are represented in the architecture, the organizational structure, and the operations of museums. Canada's new national museums, the National Gallery in Ottawa and the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, are prime examples of costly monumental magnificence.

Little wonder that the public conceives of the museum as a place of power, a Temple of society. People gain status and power from their association with the Temple , whether they are staff members, patrons, Board members, artists, or cultural groups represented in the exhibits. Despite or perhaps because of this powerful aura, museums are assumed to be neutral environments, presenting an objective view of the past. Yet their exhibit themes and storylines tend to conform with, and to support, dominant political forces (Jenkinson, 1989).

Using Burrell and Morgan's (1979) framework, this ideology falls into the paradigms on the lower half of the framework, reinforcing extant power relationships. In his keynote address to the Canadian Museums Association in 1988, Stephen Weil described the conventional wisdom of the museum field: "first: a tendency to consider museums in the light of their functional definition rather than in terms of their purposes; second, the assertion that it is the collection and care of objects that lies at the heart of the museum enterprise; and third, the extraordinary technical proficiency that we have developed in the care of objects and in their display"(1989, p. 28). By emphasizing the functions rather than the purposes of museums, objects rather than people, and techniques rather than values, the museum which Weil describes can claim 'objectivity' while actively supporting the status quo. This ideology is situated in the functionalist paradigm.

Forces of change

Though functionalism has held sway as the dominant orthodoxy during most of the last century of museum development, it has been effectively challenged in recent years. Since the 1960's, there has been increasing public pressure on North American museums to serve society by providing educational opportunities for the public. A 1958 report on Canadian museums noted that "the community museum does not take an active part in community life (and even shows) smug satisfaction of having assembled a collection of objects, as if it were an end in itself" (Key, 1973, p.145). Ten years later, in association with Canada's Centennial, an explosion of community interest in Canadian history and social accomplishment was matched by grants from various levels of government, resulting in massive capital construction which more than doubled the number of museums in the country. Statistics Canada surveys indicate that public attendance was also skyrocketing, from 12 million visits in 1966 to 50 million visits in 1970.

With increasing public attendance, and a larger claim on the public purse, came growing demands for public accountability. Protests aimed at museums' lack of responsiveness to social needs were relatively mild compared to protests directed at other North American institutions. But public attention gave strength to powerful external forces which questioned the role and authority of the museum. Federal policy, funding sources, professional organizations, and special interest groups advocated a re-orientation of the museum, to emphasize the needs of people rather than objects.

The new "people-centred" goals have been related to those of lifelong education: "Museums must act, or continue to act as enablers, that is aiding people to adapt to new value systems, leisure styles and roles. Also, museums must consider their functions as innovators, that is to help people gain self-fulfilment in an ever changing world" (Chadwick, 1980, p.101). A 1987 colloquium of Canadian and American museum workers identified the following fundamental values of their practice: "Museums promote critical thinking. Museums enhance open-mindedness. Museums sensitize us to the power of objects."(Blackmon et al,1988,p.10). Rather than accepting the objective authority of the object, and the institution, these values respect the participant's frame of reference. These statements signal a shift in museum ideology into the subjective side of Burrell and Morgan's (1979) framework, into an interpretivist paradigm. But the unanimity of the colloquium does not accurately reflect the museum community as a whole. In the last decade, Canadian Museums Association publications have been dominated by interpretivist critiques of existing functionalist practices. These critiques have emphasized the urgent need for change, without identifying the forces which resist those changes (Danzker, 1989; Cameron,1989).

Forces of resistance

The traditional structure of the museum, which originated in the functionalist paradigm, has proved a formidable barrier to change. The hierarchically arranged departments of large institutions have generated intense territorialism. Curatorial departments such as research and collections, which are most often object-centred and firmly based on functionalist assumptions, are pitted against education departments committed to interpretivist goals(Stephen, 1989; Weil, 1989). And in these battles, the historical record shows that education usually loses. In a keynote address to the Canadian Museums Association, American Malcolm Arth pointed out: "You don't need a curator from another country to tell you that it is the interpretive arm of museums which most frequently suffers from benign neglect. With budget cuts in the U.S., education often is the first item perceived as dispensable" (1984, p. 22).

Drawing from my own first-hand experience as a museum educator and administrator, I would also argue that museum educators have found themselves isolated and marginalized within the museum community. They cannot compete with the status conferred upon curators by virtue of their proximity and control of the source of the museum's prestige and power, the objects of the museum's collection. Their lower status may also be associated with social patterns of gender bias, as the vast majority of museum education department staff and volunteers were, and still are, female.

Museums as a whole have paid remarkably little attention to their aims and objectives, which are usually determined at the founding of each institution but seldom updated or revised (Belcher, 1984; Low, 1942). Museum objectives and practices have been protected from public scrutiny not only by the prestige of the institution, but by their physical location within the institution itself (Jenkinson, 1989). The acquisition, conservation, research, and preparation of exhibits - in other words, the majority of the museum's functions - are hidden from public view. Museum workers are deliberately distanced from the public which they ostensibly serve by institutional barriers of status, expertise, and architecture. This secret production of museum exhibitions and knowledge is the privileged work of curators and other museum 'gatekeepers'. The results are offered to the public for their passive consumption (Ames, 1985). This division of roles in the production of knowledge seems ironic in twentieth century institutions founded on progressive sentiments. It supports the positivist and realist assumptions of functionalism, and effectively aligns the museum with the dominant group and hegemony, rather than popular democracy or social change.

Shaking the foundations

In 1992, it is difficult to assess whether interpretivism is still a counter ideology held by a substantial and vocal minority, or if it has indeed become the dominant ideology of the museum community. The battle between functionalists and interpretivists continues to be waged on the conference floor, in journals, and in the museum itself. There has been an epidemic of re-organizations in major Canadian museums in the last decade, which I would suggest are inspired by interpretivist goals, and attempt to break the hegemony of disciplines and functions. These have met with varying degrees of success as staff members who had previously 'bought in' to traditional functionalist structures adjust to a different approach (Canadian Museums Association,1977). The shift has not been consistent or synchronous among museums, yet an increasing number of their activities and publications can be situated in an interpretivist paradigm.

This is a significant change, which I believe has far broader implications for the role and functions of museums in Canadian society. The philosophical shift toward the subjective dimension, which has shaken and toppled the monolithic museum as temple, has introduced new voices into the museum. By valuing and listening to their visitors, some museums have begun to hear new questions: Do museums have the right and power to define history and culture? Should the museum take an advocacy role? How should museums respond to divergent community needs?

While ultra-conservatives are attacking art museums on issues of pornography, ethnic minorities, aboriginal peoples, feminists, environmentalists, and other socially conscious groups are actively criticizing the museum's hegemonic agenda (Danzker, 1989; Nemiroff et al, 1991). Aboriginal peoples and ethnic groups have chosen to reclaim and recreate their history as a basis for cultural revitalization efforts (Paulston, 1977). They have founded new kinds of museums, which are challenging the hegemonic assumptions of museum collections and exhibition practices, and are changing the shape of the Canadian museum community.

This brief analysis suggests that fundamental ideological changes are creating a pluralistic museum community, despite the resistance of internal and systemic barriers. The battle continues, and though some parts of the Temple are still standing, the public are gaining access to its inner sanctum.

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Dreaming Reality

Small Media in Community Development as Critical Education Practice

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Abstract: This is an illuminative case study of adult learning at the community level. The community selected used community narrowcasting as part of learning-for-development in support of the town's efforts to reconstruct its economic base. Six years after the initial intervention, community residents examined the key dynamics.

Introduction: For the last 50 years in Canada, adult educators have been interested in using media to enhance citizen participation in the democratic process. For 30 years, specialists in communication have been applying communication tools to development goals in Third World countries. While the variations on both these initiatives have been many, one thread from the larger tapestry has been the use of community media at the community level for learning and development agenda that emerge from inside a particular geographic area.

This research arises from my association with a particular Canadian approach to adult learning at the community level. That form of community development was practised by the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland and incorporated small media in problem solving and problem posing with various sectors or all of small rural communities in Newfoundland. The process was used in Newfoundland for about 25 years and is now increasingly applied in Third World countries.

Literature: This research centres on two concepts, media and learning. Literature on communication theory, small media, radical media, mass media, and television are relevant to media as the first concept. Adult learning, community development, social change, popular education, and participatory research inform the second concept of learning. Canadian experience with media and adult learning at the national level and international development communication are also relevant. Adult learning theory offers useful frameworks of critical consciousness (Freire, 1970, 1973) and perspective transformation (Mezirow, 1978), mainly founded in reflection on social relationships. Communications literature provides good insight into the effects of mass media on construction of social realities and public discourse (Giltin, 1980, 1983). Latterly, development scholars are infusing development communication with traditional adult education concepts such as participation and joining participatory research and popular education to the community communications enterprise (Servaes, 1989; Jayaweera & Amungugama, 1989).

Methodology: In order to retain the social context of community learning, the research was undertaken as a case study. Merriam's typology of case study reports include description, interpretation, and evaluation (Merriam, 1988). This research is closest to interpretative but differs in that explorations were founded in the cannons of grounded theory, not in the a priori hypotheses of Merriam's interpretive model. The purpose of this study is the illumination of an educational innovation by clarification of its most significant features and critical processes. As such, it takes the form of an illuminative case study in the qualitative mode.

The central decision about using case study methodology was the selection among those with whom the Extension Service had been involved. The choice was the small mining community of Buchans in Newfoundland. This community had been the site for a "successful" media-assisted community development project in the mid 1980s which used a technology called narrowcasting. As an isolated community, there was no confusion about geographic boundaries. Moreover, the six years since the intervention allowed me to study long-term impact. Since its residents were unusually competent in managing its relationships with outsiders, I was confident that my research would not add complications to the unfolding of community events. My purposeful sample was 20 residents. I anticipated that memories of the specifics of events which occurred six years before would be vague, an assumption that was incorrect. The focal point of the case study was simple--how and why had the narrowcasting process worked to support learning-for-development in Buchans.

Case Study: The town of Buchans, Newfoundland, was established in 1926 in previous wilderness, as a result of an American company's decision to extract the minerals in the high grade orebodies found there. To attract a stable work force, the company built, operated, and owned all the amenities necessary for a small town of 3000, including their own railway into the interior of the province to reach the community. Although a public road was built later, for years Buchans was a closed town, exclusively supported by mining, isolated by geography and stratified by employment. One resident said of his community *"You've got to understand that the people of Buchans were a forgotten population, a forgotten race. We're so far off the beaten track--45 miles from nowhere".*

When the community closed its mining and smelting operations in 1984, no independent economic diversification had been established and the entire community of third generation "Buchaneers" faced the prospect of abandoning the community where they wanted to *"live, love and die"* for uncertain employment and strange communities elsewhere. The assumption by many outsiders that such was the natural fate of a mining town was countered by Buchans residents. *"Buchans is our community; it's not just a mining town."* Thus began eight years of determined grit to beat all the odds against the likelihood that former miners and mill workers could stimulate locally based economic renewal in an already economically depressed province.

In 1985, a field worker from the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland made the decision to advance the initiatives already begun in Buchans by assisting the community to structure a special electronic forum via a community television transmitter about the circumstances in and options for Buchans. The Extension Service was an adult education agency which used nonformal approaches of learning-for-development, including experimental uses of small media. It had some experiences using the low-powered, mobile transmitter in other communities; Buchans had none. Yet over a six-month period Buchans residents, with support from Extension staff, seized the communications potential of that technology to plunge the entire community into an unusually effective, engaging, and intense reflection on the future of Buchans. Narrowcasting, by definition confined to a 3-10 mile radius, kept as "low-tech" as possible, and dubbed Buchans Community Television (BCTV) by local residents was a closed-circuit opportunity for cultural action and a process by which shared beliefs in Buchans were created, represented and celebrated (Carey, 1975).

The learning of three groups was part of the learning-for-development process, each group taking in a wider section of the community. First was a group of older youths introduced by Extension Service to the basic video production skills needed to create pre-taped programs and principles of staging programs to go live over community television. The second group was a planning and coordinating committee for the entire project, which under the guise of designing and developing a community television project drew all the town's leaders and a number of active citizens into hours of discussion on the practical and philosophical dimensions of community regeneration. *"I can remember some night being[at the meetings] til 11:30 pm, 12 o'clock. We would just be trying to get things organized, sorted out, and then we would break off because we got into discussions of what Buchans is, and what we got to do here. We'd talk of what's happening to the community, what the community is like and how it can be improved".* The focus was on indigenous knowledge. Residents decided the content, structured it for transmission, controlled the technology, were the on-air presenters and hosts, and used the phone-in feature to interact with the programs as they went live. *"The community owned this project. It was theirs. They were the ones who were in on this. It wasn't the University's".*

Transformations: Seven years later, people who once thought of themselves as shovellers of ore had created a community-based Buchans Development Corporation which had established enough small businesses that the community is alive and well. The narrowcasting project had supported the community's efforts in several ways. Residents identified the significant transformations. The first of these was the reversal of the depressed and disheartened atmosphere that lay over a community that saw itself slipping into oblivion. *"It boosted up the spirit of the community." " All of a sudden, this lifted people right out of the mud." "It started to lift the level of depression." "The community most definitely felt better about itself after."* A renewal of pride in the community and its people, and the generation of community cohesion and unity (in contrast to the previous factionalism and alienation) was the second transformation. *"It brought people closer together in the town. You know there's a dog-eat-dog aspect of unemployment." "It's like a family. You are one and you have to stay as one if you are going to succeed."*

Belief and confidence in the capacity of self, other community members, and the community at large to address the numbing problems which beset Buchans grew substantially. *"I could look at the community from a different perspective." "After I could look at the community in a more optimistic way because what I saw was potential."* Everyone gained a previously missing base of equality from which to enter the community dialogue as a result of a commonly held data base of information pertinent to the issues facing Buchans. *"The community was communicating among themselves." "The main job was information about the [local economic development] committees that was on the go. That goal was met full force".*

Community leaders were revitalized by the certainty of the community's support to proceed in controversial directions that had survived open community debate and discussions. Not only did the community affirm the directions being explored by the community leadership, it expressed confidence in and direct support for a number of individuals who had taken on leadership roles, thus essentially renewing the social contract between community leaders and community residents. *"A number of people came up to me saying "Boy, you did a good job". "I don't think community people realized so much was going on from a small group trying to help the rest." "People learned that committees did care about the community.* As a result, those same leaders doubled their commitment to the community. This proved to be of vital importance for Buchans because the development process was long and arduous, and suffered staggering setbacks, sometimes with personal implications for those providing leadership. *"The community conveyed a tremendous faith in us that we were doing the right thing." "They had their lives on hold, believing us. I felt more weight on my shoulders after it was over."*

The final result which residents attributed to the narrowcast project was a renewed interest in community economic affairs from people who had lost their previous zest for involvement and new interest from those previously unengaged. *"You could really see the interest of people come alive [after]". "I personally think the Buchans Development Corporation got off the ground from the left over feelings from the TV program." "We wouldn't have got government support [for the Corporation] if we couldn't say "Listen, we got 400 shares sold". "People started talking to people they hadn't talked to before." "There was more attendance at community events."*

An essential issue both in learning and development is control and who exercises it. In Buchans, the Extension Service was engaged in development work with a rural community which was largely dependent on a technology to which residents had no previous exposure. Extension had many opportunities for both subtle and explicit control. I asked residents how that potential had been used.

"The content was what we wanted it to be." *" [Extension staff] saw what we saw and their motive was our motive".* *"We had pretty good coaching. The coach was on the sidelines at all times."* *I personally can't see a group of people from Memorial University coming in and saying "Well, we'll discuss some topic on your television project".* *"Extension couldn't get at the root of the topic. It's the people here that know's what's going on in the community; they're the ones to be involved, to plan it, to reach out."* These comments indicate that Extension did have influence but they also say that members of the community had a clear sense of ownership and control and were never in doubt that their project was rooted in their own community.

Analysis: Given that residents were so unequivocal about the many transformations in themselves and their community, the obvious question is "why". What was the explanation for the emancipatory force which residents of Buchans represented the narrowcasting process as being in their lives? Explanations were found in the data along three interrelated lines.

Technological features and an reorganization of community communication dynamics along dimensions oriented to and consistent with the development agenda was one key. *"The availability of it was, number one, right in your own home. That's the first thing. The second thing, you're dealing with people in a small community to whom television means something."* *"You didn't have to go to a public meeting. You could turn the television on and no one knew if you were watching or not".* *"You could participate privately and at no cost. You could become involved with no investment."* *"Many is the times there were call-ins from individuals who never voiced opinions before."* *"There was a sense of anonymity; you know people can't see me."*

A second component was a community wide learning process founded in democratic practice. *"BCTV let you see first hand what was happening."* *"It's different when you see first hand what was happening yourself with your own eyes and ears. You don't have to take anyone's word for it."* *"People had the opportunity through phone-ins to make their suggestion and recommendations. The did too and they asked some very pointed questions".* *"People were being informed on issues and being entertained and brought up to date by their own people."* *"It was very important that people who were in the same boat passed on the information which made it that much more believable."* Narrowcasting had created an active cultural circle.

The last factor which contributed to the potent mix was the counter and alternate hegemonic experience of community controlled media in contrast to mass media. Narrowcasting was focused on the maintenance of society, not the extension of images in space. Buchans residents were clear that they were excluded from McLuhan's global village. *"The only time CBC would say something about Buchans was when it was bad".* *"Nothing of importance about us was ever on television."* *"What amount of information did we get about Buchans--Scottish Football Association (SFA)".* Residents were equally explicit about how BCTV had been different. *"On TV we see important things, we see important people. When you or I are the people who are talking about our community issues or singing our community songs or displaying our community talent, it has that uplifting effect."* *" All of a sudden, we didn't watch the six o'clock [network] news any more because we were the news. It may been a bit crazy now but that's what happened. People began to focus more on the inner workings of th town and they saw their neighbours being important."* *"Where the town is small and you had local talent appearing, the different panels, the schools, the community television thing touched pretty well everyone in town."*

These three fields of influence gained their explanatory strength by being three different layers of the same process, each reinforcing and interlocking with the others. They are three separate strands only for analysis because it was the particular integration and interweaving of communication, learning, and media counter-hegemony that created a significant and contributory force to support Buchans' efforts to create an alternative future.

Freire stresses the imperative of literacy learners speaking their own word, of naming the world, and of naming as a step towards transforming that world. He presents naming as an essential human action. "Man [sic] is the only one to treat not only his actions but his very self as the object of his reflection". In Buchans, the process and availability of the media permitted local people to say their own words and to name their own world. Speaking the word implies both reflection and action as the words were the construction of portrayals of various parts of community life, in the form of electronically captured and electronically transmitted sounds and images. As a group, residents of Buchans named their world by creating it in a form that could be comprehended and reflected upon by everybody in the community.

Given media, Buchans residents entered the knowledge production process by shaping their own voices to begin a community dialogue. By the choices they made for 24 hours of community programming, they named the material and historical situation of Buchans, creating codifications which gave residents distance from the knowable object. If, as Freire suggests, in a condition of conscientization agents become subjects, once Buchans began creating itself through narrowcasting as an object for refection, conscientization had begun. "To exist humanly is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new meaning" (Freire, 1970, p. 76).

I am not implying that transformation of Buchans or the dreaming of new realities was completed when the narrowcast transmission was over. It was not. In the Buchans example of narrowcasting, a group of innovators with ambitious and difficult goals captured television technology and television mythology and used them both to serve a community agenda. Because the technology, the phenomenon of television was removed from normal commercial parameters, people became the subjects of their own learning, and they used the technology to dream a new reality. Narrowcasting was the means by which Buchans did the collective dreaming, the force and remnants of which were sufficiently powerful to guide many of the highly practical actions needed to take the dream to reality. The dream drives the action.

Implications: Media and communication are larger components of learning-based development than is currently recognized within adult education practice or research. In particular, network television puts rural or otherwise marginalized populations at risk by excluding anything but the most perfunctory acknowledgement of their existence. Those rendered virtually invisible by the same technology that gives prominence to other people, places, and things appear in danger of internalizing the judgement that mass media implies by inclusion and exclusion. Within mass media, particularly television, there is the possibility, not large but at least present, of both counter hegemony and alternate hegemony (Williams, 1974; 1977). This research concluded that emancipatory media practice pays dividends in empowerment either as an end in itself or as part of critical education practice on other social and political issues.

The implications for organizations purporting to address community issues are clear. Buchans is a powerful example of a community in which the strongest learning needs would not have been met if the only forms of learning that could have been supported by the adult education agency were the learning of courses, workshops, or other formal programs. In some instances, the best response of adult educators working with community needs for development will not be in delivering agency-based resources, such as distance education programs, or visiting specialists, but in providing support to the community to engage creatively in organizing its own approach to the problem. Nonformal learning of grass roots organizations and communities at large is not compatible with a market-driven approach to delivery of adult education.

Cable television operations which provide community programming through a community channel are the means by which any community serviced by cable television could undertake local

productions, including short or long term programs in response to development concerns. The new models for development television should not come from broadcast since the practices which serve broadcast purposes are diametrically opposed to development. The new models should be born in the communication needs of a group of people engaged in participatory development, with emphasis on interaction, feedback, two way communications and indigenous knowledge. Adult educators undertaking community development using the "Buchans model" will find many historical precedents in using media as a democratic force in community and public life.

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Demographics of Adult Learners in urban night school centres

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Abstract

This study conducted in metropolitan Vancouver sought to: 1. identify some of the salient characteristics of participants like SES, ethnicity, gender and educational background, 2. determine the level of satisfaction with courses offered, 3. find out the various reasons that participants took courses, and 4. find out if there were some barriers that might either curtail or prevent further participation in courses.

Résumé

Cette étudie est conducté dans la métropolitain de Vancouver trouver à: 1. identifie quelques importantes characteristiques du participant comme (SES) ethnnique, genre et éducationnel, 2. détermine le degré de satisfaction avec le cours offert, 3. trouver différente raisons que ce participant prend ce cours, et 4. trouver si il y a quelque part barriers qui pêut etre ausi prévenus par la participation dans le cours.

Introduction

Management in the Career and Community Services department (Continuing Education) of the Vancouver School Board (VSB) was concerned about the drop in enrollment in a number of its night school programs, but primarily wanted to find out about the demographics of its learner population. Management of Vancouver School Board felt that a study should be done to identify who its clients were, where they came from, the reasons participants took courses and how satisfied they were. This information would be the first step in the process of a needs assessment of the client groups across all VSB night school centres.

The VSB also wanted to know if the courses were attracting a significant number of clients from the growing diverse ethnic communities of Vancouver. The most important point was to determine whether course offerings were appropriate to the needs of these clients.

Methodology

Data was collected from 3008 course participants who were enrolled in various courses in the January to March term of 1991. The study was conducted at eight night school centres situated in eight different communities in Vancouver. The study employed qualitative methodological data collection to survey the course participants and a supplementary qualitative questionnaire which was designed to elicit opinions of instructors concerning course offerings and related issues of participation and cultural relevance.

Data was coded using the Social Science Statistical Package model X (SPSSX) where frequency and cross tabulation were done to determine the relationship between participants and the factors which facilitated or mitigated participation in courses. Data was analyzed to identify characteristics of participants like social economic status (SES), ethnicity, educational background, age, gender, level of satisfaction with course offerings and various reasons that impelled participants to take courses. Also barriers to participation were analyzed.

Findings

This study concerned itself with the cultural and educational profile of VSB's learner population. However, metropolitan Vancouver has historically been the first port of call for many of Canada's immigrant groups: especially the Chinese, East Indian and other Asian groups. But it suggests that VSB was slow to understand the impact that a changing cultural blend could have on participation in adult education courses. A recent review of literature suggests that research on minority population has not yet attracted the attention of the adult education research community (Ross-Gordon, 1991, p. 2).

The pattern that emerges from this cultural profile data is that the majority of the respondents at East end and South end centres, five out of eight centres in metropolitan Vancouver, were of Asian origin. As we move to the West end centres, the majority of respondents were either of British or European origin. These data are consistent with the ethnic context of the particular neighborhoods in which these centres are located.

It was clear from these data that the overall majority of people spoke English; however, the number of native speakers of English declined from a clear majority in the West end to a minority in the East and South end centres. It was found that in the VSB centres the second most used language was Cantonese, which attests to the predominantly European and Chinese ethnic mix in metropolitan Vancouver.

The study found that similar patterns in language and ethnicity also emerged in educational levels at all centres. The majority of people in East and South end centres had a lower level of education which ranged from elementary through secondary and some college. But those respondents in the West end centres were more likely to be either college or university educated. As was seen, this educational distribution had a significant impact on the reason why people took courses.

It was found that by far the most predominant age group taking courses in most centres and ethnic groups were between the ages of 20 and 45. The study, however, confirmed that course offerings attracted neither youth between the age of 16 and 19 years nor the senior citizens above 55 years old. It seems that current participants would be more attracted to job-oriented course offerings. This finding ties in very well with the assumption made that adult education programs revolve around the supply and demand model of the society rather than the needs and interests of individuals (see Jarvis 1985 and Cross, 1981). Knowles (1980) further maintains that

> adult educators, almost as an article of their faith, have a responsibility to pursue the opposite line of action - to provide the richest possible opportunities for continuing growth and self-fulfillment, and to let the older adults choose, individually, which route to follow for themselves (p. 87).

The most ardent course takers in VSB centres were women. This striking majority crosses all centres, ethnic groups and educational backgrounds. The study has confirmed Briskin's (1990) notion of challenging the male dominated social and educational system which disempowered women and relegated them to the kitchen. It seemed that women in general found it necessary to upgrade their educational credentials, perhaps because of their traditionally subordinate place in Canadian society. It was further found that the most significant reasons for taking courses were in order of importance: general interest (30%), career development (24%) and academic upgrading (16%).

Among the ethnic groups surveyed, the majority of people who had either university or college education were comprised of British and Japanese origins. However, the majority of people who were either college or secondary educated were: French, German, Italian, North American Indian, Central American, Chinese, Vietnamese, Indians from India and Afro-Canadian. It was clear from the study that most ethnic groups fell within the secondary and college educational levels. These findings had an impact on the reasons for taking course as mentioned above.

But occupation by ethnic groups showed a predominance of British and Northern European groups having more prestigious occupations. The types of occupations by ethnicity can be broken down into three categories: white collar - British, French, German, North American Indian and Chinese; blue collar - Afro-Canadian, Central American, Filipino; mixed group - Japanese, Vietnamese and Indian from India. These trends also reflect the contradictions which existed between educational level and occupation. This illustrated the disparate socioeconomic status of various ethnic groups in metropolitan Vancouver.

There was a clear distinction between educational achievement and occupational status which indicated the reasons for attending courses at VSB centres. However, it was found that VSB did not respond to the needs of the majority of respondents. For example, it was found that Chinese clients, the second largest group of VSB clients, were consistently less satisfied than the largest client group which were of British origin.

Similar studies (Johnston and Rivera, 1965, Miller, 1967) posited that adults from lower socioeconomic backgrounds tended not to be motivated to take courses. Reasons given were: low self esteem, poor home background and a non-middle class value system. These findings might indicate that the responsibility for upgrading educational levels lay with the participants. But if institutions do not provide courses which cater to the needs, interests and wants of the working class and the poor, then these people will not take courses. Unlike the middle class institutions, like a school board (VSB), the neighborhood organization or the community centre is more likely to meet the needs, wants and interests of the marginalized classes (see Miller, 1967).

This study was congruent to Miller's (1967) and other findings. From this study it was apparent that the VSB did not respond to the educational needs of the working class and the poor who were educationally disadvantaged. It seemed VSB responded to the supply and demand model which was dictated by the mainstream economic system rather than the needs of individuals. For instance, those with an elementary education indicated that they were less satisfied with course offerings than those with a higher education. The study also found that the highest levels of satisfaction were recorded at West end centres where the majority of people were of British or European origins; whereas, the least satisfaction came from the East and South end centres where there was a large population of diverse ethnic groups.

Some expressed barriers to participation were time, child care and cost of courses. Significantly, the most stated barrier to participation noted by respondents were the scheduling due to family responsibility and lack of day care facilities. Furthermore, Beder (1990) found that 32 items representing reasons for non-participation could be coalesced into four factors: low perception of need, perceived effort, dislike for school and situational barriers. Additionally, this study found that situational barriers were the most prominent. Since the majority of participants were women (65%), the issue of scheduling and provision of day care or babysitting facilities become important considerations.

Implications

Several implications flow from this study. First, school board courses have generally been aimed at well educated, middle class people of British origin; whereas a growing number of ethnic minorities and people of color are now attending adult education classes. Thus, there should be a concerted effort by school board and other institutions to make their courses more relevant to the needs, wants and interests of the non-British and non-English speaking learners.

Also a majority of learners (65%) were women and institutions should begin to look at day care considerations and scheduling of courses to accommodate these learners. Courses for career development should also be increased. Rather than concentrating on lower level skill acquisition like computer word processing, which tends to relegate women to their traditionally subordinate roles as secretaries, opening up new opportunities for management positions should be initiated.

Since people with an elementary education seemed to prefer courses geared towards academic upgrading and adult basic education, the VSB should look into the possibility of providing more of these types of courses.

Urban school boards and other agencies need to carefully study social changes and adapt their course offerings accordingly.

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Entrepreneurial Ways of Learning for Success: A Conceptual Analysis

by

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Abstract

Successful entrepreneurial ventures have been studied from economic, social, and psychological perspectives. The objective of this paper was to examine how successful Canadian entrepreneurs learned to make critical business decisions and solve problems. Six transaction types of learning were identified.

Les tentatives commerciales couronnees de succes ont ete etudiees d'um point de vue economique, social et psychologique. L'objectif de ce papier est d'examiner les facons qu'ont les entrepreneurs a succes d'apprendre a prendre des decisions critiaques et a resoudre des problemes. Six types transactionnels d'appretissage sont examines.

Introduction

Entrepreneurial ventures are highly valued in society because of their role in job creation and income generation. Yet, for reasons that are not entirely clear, most such entrepreneurial ventures fail within the first few years after they were incorporated. This high rate of failure amongst small businesses results in the loss of many jobs and an increased financial burden on families and society. Therefore, it is critical for policy-makers, business leaders, and would-be-entrepreneurs to identify and develop a better understanding of factors which contribute to the success of small businesses that are able to make it beyond the first critical years.

Entrepreneurship is difficult to define and has different meanings to different people. It implies economic activity, and economics is human activity (Hebert & Link, 1982). As an economic activity, entrepreneurship is seen as a function involving a series of decisions made towards risk-taking, innovation, production, distribution and profit-making. As a human activity, the focus is on the human attributes, personality and leadership. Entrepreneurs are assumed to be people with special qualities and are motivated towards risk-taking and achievement.

In the field of entrepreneurial research, attention has primarily focussed on social, economic, cultural and psychological variables as explanations for entrepreneurial success or failure. Unlike previous research, this paper focussed on the 'learning perspective' of successful entrepreneurs. The research question was formulated to address this question: How do successful entrepreneurs learn to solve and overcome problems and obstacles during the formative years of their business?

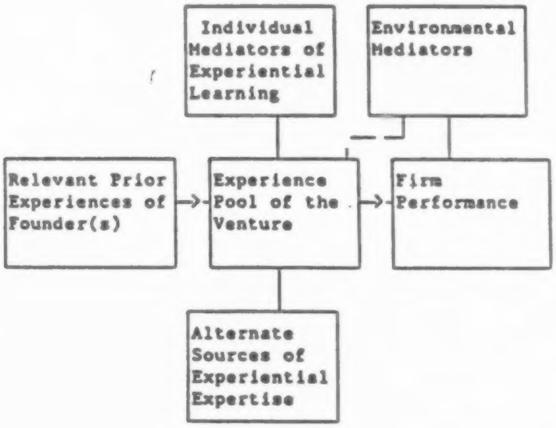
The objective of this study was to determine the 'types' of adult learning used by successful entrepreneurs.

Entrepreneurial Experience

Some authors (eg. Long & Graham, 1988) have posited the view that the level of experience is the factor which is thought to be important to the success of the venture in its early years. However, some studies have found mixed or null relationships between entrepreneurs' experience and several dimensions of their firms' performance. Reuber, Dyke, and Fischer (1990) contend that previous research into entrepreneurial experience have not adequately operationalized the concept of 'experience'. They distinguish two types of experience. The first type of experience involves direct observation of or participation in events. The other is knowledge, skill and practice derived from direct observation of and participation in events. A conceptual model (see Figure 1) is proposed by Reuber, Dyke, and Fischer (1990) which posits that the relationship between an entrepreneur's experience and the firm's performance is moderated by individual ability and motivation to acquire expertise, by alternate expertise sources, and by environmental factors.

FIGURE 1

A Conceptual Model of the Role of Experientially Acquired Knowledge in Firm's Performance


Individual Mediators of Experiential Learning
Environmental Mediators
Relevant Prior Experiences of Founder(s)
Experience Pool of the Venture
Firm Performance
Alternate Sources of Experiential Expertise

Individual mediators are psychological factors which are inherent in an individual and to a significant extent determine the level of prior experience. The two factors which will moderate the experiential learning of the entrepreneur are the individual's ability and motivation. Alternate sources of experientially acquired knowledge are teams, networks, and consultants. Finally, the environmental or situational moderators are those factors which are externally created. Factors such as strategy and industry structure play a role in firm's performance.

The integrative model of experientially acquired knowledge and entrepreneurial venture success presented by Reuber, Dyke, and Fischer (1990) opens up an important area for researchers interested in understanding the acquisition and application of knowledge. They claim that such a model will have important implications for leaders and public policy makers. Experiential learning is commonly assumed to be directly proportional to prior experience and to be a relevant factor in assessing the business potential for most types of firms. However, the model does not explain the ways in which learning takes place, and the kinds of activities engaged by an individual in acquiring the relevant experiential knowledge necessary for entrepreneurial venture success. In the next section, we review the types of learning transactions undertaken by successful Canadian entrepreneurs.

Ways of Learning

Adult educators have not examined at any depth the learning process of existing and would-be entrepreneur. Several writers in the field of business education (eg. Cortes, 1975; Shah & Rao, 1978; Pareek & Madkarni, 1978) have developed sophisticated educational programs for training entrepreneurs, but few have actually studied the learning process of these entrepreneurs. Weinrauch (1984) has called upon business educators to develop a better understanding of the unique adult learning process and apply this knowledge in both traditional and nontraditional forms of entrepreneurship education. Ulrich and Cole (1987) have applied Kolb's four-stage learning style model in training and teaching future entrepreneurs. They concluded that the effectiveness of the entrepreneurial-directed alternative for training of future entrepreneurs lies ultimately in the likelihood that those who experience Kolb's approach are not likely to diminish their interest in education. Successful learning experiences tend to beget a desire for more and lifelong learning is vital for any entrepreneur. Thus, this paper presented an exploratory attempt to examine how adult learning principles could be applied to entrepreneurial learning.

Six 'transaction types' of learning, based on Tough's concept of planners (1979) and Knowles' concept of self-directed learning (1975, 1980), were developed by Strychar *et al* (1990) to examine how pregnant women learned about selected health issues. Each transaction type consists of three components: time of learning, settings for learning, and initiation of the learning episodes. Type 1 represents learners interacting in predominantly self-initiated learning episodes in group settings. Type 2 represents learners interacting in predominantly self-directed learning episodes in one-to-one settings. Type 3 represents learners interacting in predominantly self-initiated learning episodes with a nonhuman resource. Types 4, 5, and 6 represent the learners interacting in predominantly other-initiated learning episodes in the group, one-to-one, and with nonhuman resources. The researcher hypothesized that successful entrepreneurs utilized six dominant transaction types of learning. At any one time, an entrepreneur might use one or more transaction types of learning for different kinds of problems encountered.

Methodology and Data Source

Data was drawn from a study of 75 Canadian successful entrepreneurs conducted by Gould (1990). The study involved interviewing the entrepreneurs and then documented as success studies in the book entitled, *The New Entrepreneurs: 75 Canadian Success Stories*. These stories were analyzed and main themes identified and classified into six hypothesized types of learning. The decision on putting themes according into the appropriate transaction types was based on the author's judgement and careful evaluation of the words and quotations presented in the book. In so doing some degree of subjectivity might be introduced.

Discussion of Results

The 75 entrepreneurs described by Gould (1990) represented men and women from all 10 provinces, from every walk of life, from educational backgrounds that range from grade school dropout to MBAs and doctorates. They represented businesses from nine industries, namely, food, building, beauty and fashion, retailing, service, manufacturing, sports and recreation, entertainment, and computer. Together, the 75 entrepreneurs created approximately over 20,000 jobs. Their ages ranged from early 20s to mid 50s. Gould observed that 'all of them had a certain spark that allowed them - even forced them - to create a business, even an empire' (p. 438). In most of them, there was a strong sense of innovation.

Content analysis of the narrations described by Gould revealed that these entrepreneurs did use a varied and mixed types of transactions in solving their business problems and in making decisions that affected the survival of the enterprises.

On the basis of evidence presented by Gould one could hypothesized that successful entrepreneurs engaged in all the six transaction types of learning as described in the above. Further research is suggested to empirically validate such a view, and that six transaction types should be operationally elaborated.

Significance of the Study

Whilst previous research tended to explain the motivation of entrepreneurs the present study examined the 'learning process' of successful entrepreneurs. The study has strong implications for national small business agencies and financial institutions wanting to better understand the dynamics of entrepreneurial learning activity. From an adult education perspective, the study enhances the ways in which education and training programs may be designed for would-be and existing entrepreneurs.

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Labour Education in South-East Asia: Empowerment for Whom?

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Studies of Malaya, Singapore and Hong Kong indicate that labour education can be effective in trade union development, but the role of elites is a central factor which influences the character of the education and of the development which results.

Des etudes du Malaya, Singapore et Hong Kong indiquent que l'education des travaillistes peut aider le developpement des syndicats mais les groupes elites jouent un role important qui sert a changer le caractere de l'education et des developpements qui la suivent.

The geo-political changes of 1989-91 have served to de-emphasise the popular image of labour movements as agents of social progress. For much of the twentieth century, however, it was widely acknowledged that labour movements were important forces for social mobilisation and social change. In what is now a largely post-communist world, whether labour movements will retain or redevelop a capacity to initiate progressive social change must be problematic. However, in much of the world rapid industrial development on a capitalist basis, and in the absence of strong democratic political institutions, calls for strong mechanisms of labour representation.

In this context, the role of education in labour movements is a matter of more than passing concern. The centrality of labour to progressive social movements in the twentieth century was reflected in close links between adult education and labour in many 'developed' countries. For many, it has been axiomatic that adult - still more, labour - education is a mechanism for 'empowering' the oppressed and underprivileged. This view was also 'exported' from the developed world: colonial governments, UN agencies (particularly the ILO), international trade union organisations, the overseas aid ministries of developed countries (especially those with strong social democratic movements), all played a part in this. A (barely hidden) agenda was set by the 'cold war' struggle between capitalism and socialism.

In recent years, assumptions about the progressive nature of labour education have been questioned. International organisations have shifted their focus away from trade unions. Partly this shift has been contingent on a changing analysis of the international world order, with the rising power of the East and South-east Asian economies, the associated declining image of centralised planning as a mechanism for achieving economic growth and national prosperity, and the relative erosion of the importance of Africa in international politics. Partly it has been related to the changing image of labour movements, increasingly seen as historically specific and limited in their potential (cp, e.g., Hobsbawm 1984; Piven and Cloward 1977).

There has also been realignment in academic understandings of labour education. Recent literature has pointed to the complexity - but at the same time the importance - of institutional mediation in the provision of adult education for members of workers' movements. A series of papers, for instance, have argued that the great expansion of British labour education in the 1960s and 1970s should be seen as a mechanism for integrating the trade union movement into a 'corporative' state labour relations strategy (cp, e.g., McIlroy and Spencer 1989). Internationally, Hopkins (1985) has shown the complexity of unscrambling motive and effectiveness in this field.

Despite these contributions, the area remains under-theorised and under-researched. This weakness is most marked at the comparative level, especially outside the 'developed' world. Discussion of labour education in East and South-east Asia has been particularly thin - a major weakness in view of the region's role at the forefront of export-oriented industrial development. This paper examines episodes from the South-east Asian experience of labour education. The study is part of a wider programme of research on labour education's role in South-east Asian countries in the post-war period.

The episodes chosen are as follows: (a) the use of labour education by the colonial authorities to develop trade unions free from Communist influence in Malaya; (b) labour education's role in supporting government-inspired economic regeneration in 1960s Singapore; (c) labour education's role in developing the independent trade union movement in 1980s Hong Kong.

(a) **Colonial Labour Education: Malaya.** After the Second World War, the British colonial government in Malaya found its authority threatened by the Malayan Communist Party, which had broadened its support during the wartime struggle against the Japan to include many Indian plantation workers and some sections of the Malay peasantry (O'Brien 1988: 146). The Communist Party, strongest among Malaya's Chinese community, had been a major influence in the development of the trade union movement before the war, and now renewed its efforts.

The colonial authorities were anxious to reassert their authority, but were under pressure from the Labour Government in Britain to give proper recognition to trade unions. The strategy adopted (clearly modelled on the British government's approach in Britain between the wars) was to encourage 'responsible democratic trade unions' - defined chiefly in terms of an absence of political involvement. 'Responsible' unions were encouraged to register with a government agency and given legal advantages; politically associated unions - which meant in effect those in which communists played an important role - were actively suppressed in 1948 and again in 1955-56.

In this context, the colonial authorities also took a more active approach to union development, establishing a Trade Union Adviser's Department in 1946 (Awberry and Dalley 1948: 24; Gamba 1962: esp. 100-130; Stenson 1970: esp. 127-48, 163-9). The Adviser's tasks were:

> to advise the Unions on how they can best build up their membership, finance and leadership; to instil the principles of self-government and democracy and generally to foster the growth of organisations capable of maintaining and improving the conditions of labour of their members and of carrying out negotiations with employers on a equal footing (Awberry and Dalley 1948: 37).

These were, of course, in the broad sense educational tasks, and clearly influenced by prevailing British Colonial Office views on community development (Holford 1988). The government's directive to the Adviser specified that one method he should use to 'assist and encourage the early development of the trade union movement ... on sound and well-proven lines' was education, and with very clear aims:

> educating workers in the principles, practice and procedure of collective bargaining and negotiation, the method of presentation of demands for the redress of grievances, emphasising the disadvantages of strike action before the presentation of demands, and the need in the interests of the workers to regard the strike as a weapon to be resorted to only when all means of settlement have been tried and failed. (Quoted Awberry and Dalley 1948: 68.)

The Adviser (John Brazier, based in Kuala Lumpur) and his assistant (in Singapore), were both British trade unionists. Together with their 'native field officers', they gave prominence to educational methods. (Brazier had apparently largely drafted the Directive in any case: Gamba 1962: 114.) He 'spent a great deal of time in the field ... giving advice to potential trade unions' (Gamba 1962: 102); models rules were prepared in local languages (107). Pamphlets, issued 'in plain simple language' with titles such as *You and Your Union* and *I am a Trade Unionist*, were translated into Chinese, Tamil and Malay. (Awberry and Dalley 1948: 37; Trade Union Adviser n.d.). Union officers were given 'elementary training' in book-keeping (Gamba 1962: 108) (no mere technical issue in the context of developing 'responsible' trade unionism, and new legislation to control union income and expenditure). Stenson (1970: 191) gives an example of the Department's work:

> local officials ... tour[ed] the country persuading managers of the advantages of non-militant unions, exposing the deficiencies of the [Communist-led] F.T.U.s and explaining the rights of union members ... [by] the presentation of films, plays and skits involving local characters as well as by more straightforward methods of talks on health and unionism ... At its best, the result was a genuine two-way process, in which the public relations men lectured on the nature of 'genuine' unionism, emphasizing the rights of individual members and the necessity for proper financial and voting procedures, while the labourers discussed their own grievances with sympathetic officials who were of their own community and could talk their own language.

According to a sympathetic observer, the Adviser's 'emphasis on "gradual evolution to self-government" and adult education' led to 'politics in the real sense - the art of government' becoming a topic of growing interest among Malayan trade unions (Gamba 1962: 123).

Even in the union sphere, of course, the overcoming of Communism was by no means due to education alone. While just how important the Trade Union Adviser's activities were in the suppression of communism is a matter of debate (cp Gamba 1962: ch. IV; Stenson 1970), it seems clear that his department played a significant role in developing 'responsible' trade unionism during the late 1940s.

(b) Labour Education for National Development: Singapore. When, in 1965, Singapore broke away from Malaysia, its leaders (Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew and his allies in the People's Action Party) sought to consolidate their social base of support, in opposition to an historically strong left-wing with Communist links. At roughly the same time, they settled on the approach which has subsequently become known as export-oriented industrialisation, and which had major implications for the traditional attitudes of the new country's trade unions. The PAP leadership had a measure of support among the leaders of the National Trades Union Congress. To secure this, and to ensure that the new economic strategy was not undercut by leftist union opposition, the NTUC and PAP leaders sought to develop commitment among active union members for a new union role - in part through labour education.

Central to the NTUC's strategy was the government's introduction of a new industrial relations structure which gave unions a clearer, and more legally oriented, role. The NTUC tried to move beyond being a mere 'bargaining institution for its members', and to project itself as 'a social institution representing the working population of Singapore' (Leow 1978: 13). It saw the need for 'an effective and continuous trade union education programme' explicitly linked to the new national strategy. The number of courses organised, 'educating trade union leaders on the social, political and economic life of Singapore' and 'preparing a new generation of well-informed union leaders', increased. The emphasis was on 'productivity, human problems in industrial development, work study, job evaluation, remuneration by results, joint consultative machinery and human relations'. (Leow 1978: 13.) Trade union leaders also conveyed their 'intelligent understanding of the environment ... to the rank and file through courses conducted at union level' (Leow 1978: 13).

The NTUC leadership complemented these with a high-profile educational campaign in favour of the 'modernisation' of the labour movement. The highpoint was a seminar over four days in November 1969 (NTUC 1970). The trade union movement should be 'structured and oriented toward the very goals to which the society in which it lives and serves is oriented'. The seminar would 'make a critical appraisal of the shortcomings of the labour movement and ... find adequate means to enable a more positive role to be undertaken by workers, their unions and their leaders' (NTUC 1970: 16). The Seminar was aimed at a second tier of leaders and - through them - at the movement as a whole.

At the seminar, a strategy of 'vital importance' was developed, in which union education played a vital role. Unions should make 'a sustained, continued and concerted effort to explain to the rank and file the concrete benefits that would accrue' to workers from the new strategy. A special campaign committee should develop 'an educational campaign' using 'mass media, radio, T.V., publicity, meetings of trade unions at branch level, general meetings and so forth.' (NTUC 1970: 270.) Union training featured prominently in commissioned studies of trade unionism in West Germany and Israel (NTUC 1970: 111-13, 135-6). Education was clearly linked to the organisational-strategic needs of the movement. The need was for a cadre of 'new-style trade unionists' (NTUC 1970: 33). A keynote paper on 'Education for Leadership in the Labour Movement' made a series of detailed proposals about the shape of labour education. 'Only by proper education can unions realise their long-term goals and ideals.' Union education must have 'specific aims and objects, ... clearly defined so as not to contradict the objects of both the State and the trade union movement as a whole' (NTUC 1970: 152).

Although in 1960s Singapore labour education was a matter of union (rather than government) policy, as in the earlier Malayan case it was used to further government-sponsored aims. In both cases, the educational policy was linked to legal and other developments (industrial relations and registration procedures, for instance) which only the state can initiate. In both cases, the educational strategies enjoyed a measure of success. This suggests that state sponsorship (and linkage to a favourable environment) may be a major factor in the success of labour education programmes - crudely, that labour education can empower governments and leaders. (This is not, of course, to deny that workers may not also benefit.) The third case which we examine suggests a qualification to this proposition.

(c) **Hong Kong: Labour Education and the Formation of Independent Trade Unions.** Post-war trade unionism in Hong Kong was dominated until recently by two federations, aligned respectively to the Communist policies of the People's Republic of China, and to the Guomindang or Nationalist government in Taiwan. In the 1970s, the Christian Industrial Committee (CIC), founded in 1968 by the Hong Kong Council of Churches, began to develop approaches to improving workers' conditions. One central method evolved was labour education. The CIC and a number of associated bodies have been important in the development, during the 1980s, of a group of 'independent' unions, and in the formation in 1990 of a third union federation.

During the 1970s, the CIC developed within a broadly 'liberation theology' approach. It concluded that workers could increase their power by strengthening their unity at the 'grassroots' level. Not within the union movement, the CIC began with 'consciousness raising' among young workers from community and church groups. Labour education became part of its activities through its determination to educate and develop a 'cadre force': 'over 50 factory workers' underwent training 'to be labour law instructors themselves to their fellow workers' (Leung 1988: 117). Priority was placed on educating unorganised workers and rank and file union members (Tang 1989: 31), which was 'a process of empowering the powerless ... of securing justice, of reconciling labour and management, and of growth and development for the individual worker' (Leung 1988: 117).

In the early 1980s, the CIC became involved in trade union education as such, organising education for workers in the food, beverage and the associated industries in association with the International Union of Food and Allied Workers Association (IUF). In 1983 a Trade Union Education Centre (TUEC) was formed by the CIC, the IUF, and 12 local unions from different sectors. Its main concern was for education for leaders in two areas: members of the executive committees and workplace and district representatives of individual unions, and promoting cooperation among various independent unions in Hong Kong (Tang 1989: 36-37).

Educational activities have been interwoven with union organising. Contacts were made with workers from a number of companies. Education activities (mainly small discussion groups) were organised, and in at least two cases the workers succeeded in organising a union. Efforts were then made to assist in the consolidation of the organisation by providing continuing educational support for leaders as well as rank-and-file.

By 1989, the CIC worked jointly with four international trade secretariats on union education (Tang 1989: 36); in 1988 the TUEC a seminar on the restructuring of the trade union movement in Hong Kong - a direct precursor of discussions which led to the formation of a new union confederation in 1990 (Leung and Leung 1988).

Discussion. These three episodes show that education can be an effective mechanism for developing the organisation of labour. In Malaya, in Singapore, and in Hong Kong, the educational exercises we have discussed all led to (apparently) strengthened trade unionism. A number of points emerge. In each case the educational initiative stemmed from an elite; the relationship of the elite to the movement, and the priorities and assumptions of these elites, were fundamental to the nature of the educational experience which resulted. Whilst it is arguable that labour benefitted in each case (in that the organisation of labour was strengthened), in no case was the agenda entirely set by the participants themselves. In the Malayan and Singaporean cases, politics was explicitly on the agenda (although dressed in the first case in the guise of excluding politics); in Hong Kong, the agenda has been the construction of trade unions independent of long-standing traditions. Labour education is commonly used by governments and by factional elites within union movements to further sectional (or at least not universally accepted) ends.

In Malaya and Singapore, the role of government was decisive. Both governments faced challenges to their authority and to their policies, and found a solution in labour education. In Hong Kong, the independent union sector has been able to develop - and education has been able to play a role in this - without government help. However, the activities of the CIC and its associates never seriously challenged central elements of Hong Kong government industrial or labour policy, and under the guise of 'non-interventionism' government has effectively allowed them some space.

No form of education can exist free from a political environment; labour education is no exception. It can provide a powerful resource for the oppressed. But it is also a mechanism by which elites attempt to guide and mould the development of labour movements. Empowerment is circumscribed.

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Starting with Evaluation: Using Fourth Generation Evaluation to Discover Learner Needs

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Sommaire

Alors que l'évaluation des besoins est devenue de plus en plus à la mode afin de constituer une base de plannification de l'éducation pour adultes, Guba et Lincoln, dans leur théorie sur la quatrième génération d'évaluations, notent que "l'évaluation des besoins ne fait trop souvent qu' identifier ceux que le produit du sponsor se révèle capable de répondre ou que ses valuers considèrent comme devant exister en tant que besoins du groupe visé" (1989, p.52). Cet article suggère qu'en applicant certains aspects à la théorie sur la quatrième génération d'évaluations, le poit de vue du participant peut être l'objectif principal de l'évaluation des besoins.

While assessing needs has increased in popularity as a basis for planning adult education, Guba and Lincoln in their theory on fourth-generation evaluation note that "Needs assessments too often identify just those needs that the sponsor's product happens to be capable of fulfilling, to which the sponsor happens to be capable of providing a response, or which the sponsor's values dictate ought to exist as needs of the target group" (1989, p.52). This paper suggests that, by applying fourth-generation evaluation theory, the participant's perspective can be the focus of needs assessments.

What View of Need

Needs assessments traditionally involve identifying and ranking the concerns of potential program participants in relationship to the program objectives. Stufflebeam et al. (1985, p.7) describe four approaches to identifying need. They are:

- Discrepancy View: A need is a discrepancy between desired performance and observed or predicted performance.
- Democratic View: A need is a change desired by a majority of some reference group.
- Analytic View: A need is the direction in which improvement can be predicted to occur, based on information about the area.
- Diagnostic View: A need is an absence or deficiency which proves harmful.

Of the four views of need, the discrepancy view is most commonly used in the planning of adult education programs. Stufflebeam et al. note that discrepancy studies avoid the less easily measured areas, reducing needs assessments to a mechanical process of comparing quantifiable observations or perceptions to standards or criteria and describing the resulting gaps. Employing the democratic view for needs assessments allows for the input of many people on a wide range of issues. Stufflebeam et al. however caution that this approach depends heavily on the reference group being informed. The question arises: does 'being informed' about needs mean sharing the information perspective of the provider. The analytic view can be used in assessing needs when critical thinking about trends and problems is required. It is used for assessing the need for broad improvement, such as the need for a new curriculum, where complete descriptions of situations are required. The needs of participants would be a part of the description. The analytic view requires some move away from *a priori* statements of standards and recognizes multiple interrelated standards for the assessment of need. The diagnostic view described by Stufflebeam et al. is used for determining deficiencies in competency and may be appropriate for continuing professional education but was not part of the mandate of the study presented here. The diagnostic view is based on an assumption that some needs are absolute. This was not an assumption appropriate for a focus on the participant perspective. Which view of need is employed depends on the situation to be assessed. The question to be asked of each view is, can needs assessment, whatever view is used, include the perspective of the participants.

Gathering Learning Needs of Physicians

The Division of Continuing Medical Education in the Faculty of Medicine, Dalhousie University, received funding from the Medical Society of Nova Scotia for a study of the learning needs of physicians in Nova Scotia. The investigation of learning needs borrowed from a theory of learning and change in physicians (Fox, Mazmanian, and Putnam, 1989) which attributed personal, professional and social forces to bringing about change and the need for learning. Similarly, the description of learning by purpose, method and resources, suggested by these authors was used to structure the investigation of learning needs. A 17 page questionnaire was mailed to all physicians in Nova Scotia. It sought information on their learning needs in the context of the life of the physician in practice. The questionnaire did not attempt to assess providers of continuing education programs, specifically not the University as a provider. Four focus groups were also convened. They were arranged by the Medical Society and facilitated by educational resource staff from the Faculty of Medicine. Focus groups were used in addition to the questionnaire to elicit issues of concern which may not have been covered in the questionnaire (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990).

The Participant's Perspective in the Expression of Need

The position taken in this paper is that the gradual involvement of the participant in evaluation as outlined here is also desirable and feasible in needs assessments. How we can respect the participant's perspective in evaluation has been the focus of work by Weiss (1983), Stake (1983) and Guba and Lincoln (1989).

Weiss suggested involvement of the stakeholder in evaluation in response to criticism which found evaluation studies to be:

- too narrow: a limited number of issues are identified for examination and some of the issues of importance to participants are not addressed
- irrelevant: much of the data that is collected and analyzed is unrelated to the needs of people involved in the program
- unfair: questions that concern program managers or staff are addressed; rarely are the needs and wants of less powerful groups such as participants considered
- unused: results seldom influenced decisions - program managers take comfort from the findings that are positive and bury or forget the findings that suggest a need for major reform.

Weiss argued that these shortcomings would be overcome only if evaluators involved user groups in their studies, recognized the divergent information needs of policy makers and program managers and undertook a systematic canvass of each group's concerns and criteria for success.

Stake, in his urging for responsive evaluation, addressed as the central focus of the evaluation, the concerns and issues of a stakeholder audience. He stressed the importance of being responsive to realities in the program and to issues suggested by participants, rather than relying on preconceptions of providers and formal plans of the program. Improved communications with stakeholders is Stake's principal goal for responsive evaluation. Stake believes it is necessary to pay attention to the natural way in which people understand and communicate information. As well he believes that people's generalizations from their own experience, provide explanations for how they view and understand educational programs. This explanation of the rationale for responsive evaluation helps us understand the role of the participant in assessing needs.

According to Guba and Lincoln, the major role for evaluation is to respond to requirements for information in ways that take into account the different value perspectives of its members. They propose a fourth generation of evaluation[1] that is described as a form of evaluation in which the claims, concerns, and issues of stakeholders serve as the basis for determining what information is needed. For Guba and Lincoln the role of the evaluator is determined by how evaluation is conceptualized. This is similar to Stufflebeam's point that we must understand which view of need we employ. The uniqueness of fourth-generation evaluation is based largely on an acceptance of value pluralism. Value pluralism is equally important to needs assessment, if the participant's perspective is to be respected. Guba and Lincoln have described five fundamental concepts to guide fourth-generation evaluators in gathering information. They are:

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[1] Guba and Lincoln identified earlier evaluation work as having three distinct phases or generations:The evaluator's role in first-generation evaluation (measurement) was to determine how well students compared to the norms on certain standardized tests. In the 1920s, second-generation evaluation (description) evaluators described the patterns and strengths and weaknesses of programs with respect to stated objectives. The late 1950s characterized third-generation evaluation (judgment) whereby the evaluator assumed the role of judge while at the same time retaining the functions of the first two generations: measurement and description.

- Value Pluralism. The evaluator shares control in the evaluation process with the stakeholders such that, from design through to the reporting of the results, differing value positions are taken into account.
- Stakeholder Constructions. The evaluator stimulates stakeholders to describe and understand phenomena within the context in which they are being evaluated. Findings in one context need not be generalizable to another.
- Fairness. The evaluator is obliged to accept the participant's view at face value without giving a preference to the value patterns of any one stakeholder group. All points of view are solicited and honoured.
- Merit and Worth. The evaluator accepts that merit and worth are aspects of value. Values, therefore, are the basis for defining needs as well as standards for determining how well the needs are met.
- Negotiated Process and Outcomes. The evaluator acts as the mediator and change agent throughout the evaluation process where understanding rather than consensus is a primary goal.

Providers of continuing education may rightfully argue it is difficult to gather and incorporate a participant perspective in which various value positions are included, the emphasis is on the participant's context, and negotiation is used to arrive at an understanding of the participants' perspective. The challenge for the providers of continuing professional education is to understand and respect the context for learning described by the participants.

Uncovering the Participant Perspective

Focus groups were chosen for this study because they provide a technique to gather participant perspective and a process which supports the underlying concepts of fourth-generation evaluation. The focus group process enables the theories of fourth generation evaluation to be brought to evaluation studies as well as to needs assessments. The focus group process provides practical application of fourth-generation evaluation theory in the following ways:

- An Emergent Process: Focus groups interviewing is a tool for discovery and exploration. It is semi-structured in that the group discussion centers around a theme with open-ended questions posed by the moderator.
- A Continuous, Recursive, and Divergent Process: Unlike the discrete, closed-ended, and convergent events of traditional needs assessments the flexibility of focus groups provide an open response format where respondents can qualify responses and the moderator can follow-up with probing questions. The synergism of group interaction produces a wider range of information.

- A Learning/Teaching Process: Focus groups serve to expose and illuminate the information about value positions and judgements by various stakeholders. Initially the discussions are a learning encounter and later become a teaching encounter when each of the positions is clarified and made more understandable to the other participants.

- A Process with Unpredictable Outcomes: Information learned in the focus group is unlikely to predict the extent of congruence of performance with objectives but it will serve to illuminate and clarify the positions of stakeholders within their respective contexts.

- A Process that Creates "Reality": Stakeholders are brought together in a face-to-face interaction in which their own constructions and those of others are examined. As respondents build on the responses of others and learn new information, each of the participants in the focus group is presented with additional elements to reconsider in his or her "reality".

- A Social-Political Process: By their very nature focus groups engage participants in discussions with value issues which inevitably become tools for political advocacy. The focus group moderator ensures value differences are recognized.

- A Collaborative Process: Together, with the guidance of the focus group moderator, stakeholders learn to explore different value positions which inevitably lead to decisions or judgements forming an "agenda for negotiation".

- An Agenda for Negotiation: A basis for action can be established with the perspectives of all stakeholders clarified. Planning for new learning, development of existing programs and their evaluation can be enhanced.

Participant's Expression

The response to the needs assessments indicated a desire by participants to be heard[2]. The response rate of 50% to the questionnaire exceeded expectations. Many respondents wrote comments on the questionnaire noting their particular setting or circumstances for learning. Participants cited influences on their practice that created special needs such as remoteness from major centres, severe cut-backs in health care budgets and related social programs, changing social arrangements including high unemployment and poverty and increasing demands (and new educational levels) of the public to name just a few. Responses to the questionnaire indicated the physician's context for practice was an important influence in their learning needs. Each focus group ran for approximately two hours. Participants were asked to discuss open-ended questions on the future of continuing education for the community physician in the 1990s. Sessions were audio-taped and the tapes were later transcribed. In the focus groups, participants seldom addressed specific continuing education needs. They used the opportunity to discuss their own setting, asking that providers understand their context for practice and learning. The report of the focus groups based on the transcripts presented the data in two categories: Concerns indicating a learning need and specific suggestions for continuing education. Most of the data fitted under the former category. Participants were emphatic that their context strongly influenced their need for learning. They were even more emphatic that it was time continuing education providers understand their context for learning.

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[2] One participant's note: "Help, Is Anyone Out There Listening" became part of the title of a completed report on the needs assessment prepared for the Medical Society of Nova Scotia.

Are We Ready to Involve the Participants?

Weiss cautioned that "The kind of information that many people who have a stake in the program want, is data that prove their worth. They want program vindicators, not program indicators" (1983, p.10). Regard for the participant perspective is accepted in evaluation theory and method. At a time when many forms of adult education such as self-directed learning, individualized instruction and problem-based learning depend on knowing the learning needs of participants, it may be necessary to bring the participant perspective to the assessment of needs. Are providers open to the possibility that participants make demands that a traditional program cannot fulfil? Physicians, for instance have stated clearly that their learning must be in the context of their practice. Involving participants in the identification of needs may change the nature of programs and it may change the role of the program providers. They may suddenly have to orchestrate the involvement of diverse interest groups. Involving participants in assessing needs could provide new directions to continuing education.

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Meaning and Social Integration among Adult Distance Education Students: a forgotten realm

by

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I intend to explore the nature of social integration among adult distance education students at Athabasca University and to provide some descriptive background for these notions. The process of meaning generation is rooted in the integration of the adult student to his/her social context rather than the integration of a student to a campus based society.[1]

J'ai l'intention d'explorer la nature de l'intégration sociale parmi les étudiants adultes, d'éducation à distance à l'université Athabasca et de fournir des données detaillées sur ces idées. Le processes de définition de génération est basé sure l'intégration de l'étudiant adulte dans son contexte social plutôt que sur l'intégration des étudiants d'universités traditionels.

Distance education limits and provides opportunities to adult learners that may not be readily obvious. Because of AU's basic delivery model - home study through prepared course materials and supplemented by telephone tutoring - face-to-face interaction with teachers or other students is rare. Hence AU students are independent learners, more individualistic and isolated in comparison to their younger counterparts who form the student population at Canadian universities. The concept of social integration, in the campus based sense, which dominates the literature with respect to student attrition, is inadequate to describe the social processes in distance adult education of the AU variety (Hotchkis 1990).

First, at AU there is no face-to-face interaction between students and educational workers in the home study mode of delivery. Interaction occurs on the telephone between tutor and student. This interaction is however, limited in duration, intensity, and by technology. It does not consitute social integration in a campus based community sense. Second, student-to-student interaction occurs rarely so there is not a student community to which one might become integrated. The social contexts in which the AU students work and live are the only social contexts where there is "social integration". Only by understanding the process by which AU's distance education students integrate with their social contexts can we analyze their generation of meaning and behavior as it pertains to education.

To properly grasp the situation of AU's students we can contrast it with the situation of the traditional university student. Ideal-typically, the traditional university student, is between 18-24 years and arrives at university directly from high school. They have limited knowledge of the real world of work and hardly have long term personal relationships such as marriage or the responsibilities for children. University for them is often an extension of high school. They interact with other similar individuals, and share with them similar experiences. There is a common bond necessitated by the similarities of their age cohort and lack of divergent experience. They are integrated socially and, as they progress through the higher educational system, their social perspective become ever more similar. They share similar values and outlooks on life. They become 'university-types'. Their self perception and self image and behavior reflect this socialization.

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[1] This paper is an adaptation of a presentation and article being prepared for the Alberta Association for Continuing Education.

However, I now turn to the central question to this paper: "What is the social context of adult students and how does it influence their educational experience and behavior?" First, contrasted to younger students, adult students have by definite experience with work life and often have experience with long term relationships, raising children, and involvement in community activities. They rarely enter the higher educational process directly from high school. They are not a unified cohort of limited age range. As a result of the variety of backgrounds they form a heterogeneous group. Therefore, where the main social bonds of younger students are likely to be within the student cohort, the most important social bonds of the adult education student are likely to be within their social context outside of the educational institution in the "real world". It is particularly important to note that for AU distance education students, the lack of any possibility of social integration into a student community is a structural fact. Their only social ties, are one's original social context. Their self-perception, social values, educational experience and behavior are linked to the "real" community. This makes all the difference.

Adult Distance Students Speak

In the previous section we made assertions the differences between adult and younger university students with respect to the nature of social intergration within an educational context. This section describes adult distance education students from open in-depth interviews. These excerpts illustrate some of the processes noted above. They are heuristic devices that aid our understanding.

AU students were selected both from an urban environment and a rural environment in order to sample both types of student experience. We ensured that gender was sampled proportionately. All students were experienced Athabasca University students with at least 6 credits in which they had enrolled. A topic list was constructed and adapted from a "trial" focus group held with four students. The topic list was used as a general guide and not as a interview schedule. Discussion flowed freely over the points that the respondent found important. Students were encouraged to tell their educational story in their own way. At the end of the interview, topics not discussed were cited in order to check off items that perhaps were missed during the conversation.

Four cases are presented here. These cases represent the diversity among the 26 individuals who were interviewed. The names of the students were changed to protect their identities.

Timothy

Timothy is a 60 yr old farmer. He is widely read and is actively concerned about the world around him. His reason for studying and meaning for him, derived from a social activist perspective. He states that his reasons for taking an English Writing course were:

> I was with the National Farmers Union and the trouble is you have to take briefs or whatever you're going to the government and know how to write it down and, communicate, I guess. You have to know how to make your wishes and your needs clear.

He felt that he benefited directly by taking the English Writing course The skills he developed from the course were employed in his campaign against a proposed pulp-mill.

> I took a report to the Pulp Mill Review Board and it was to nice to be able to write down (ideas)

> and know that I was doing it half decently.

Timothy is interested in all types of people and does not view formal education as conferring any particular inherent status. Though he defends his integration with the farming community he is pleased to have contact with "university types".

> And, it's nice to associate with different people then, you know, like if I stayed on the farm you associate with farmers and the people you do business with and if I take a course with the university here, well, I get to talk with different people. It's stimulating, it's interesting, just like I'm talking to you now.
>
> Well, I guess, having a fairly wide variety of knowledge and especially now that I've, you know I'm getting a little older and I've had a little bit of experience besides. I can sit down and talk with just about anybody on just about anything they want to talk about.
>
> It's not so much now but it was. There was a lot of the older people stuck with a grade one or two or grade three education and they're out farming and yet we find that a lot of people especially the older ones are incredibly astute and understand a lot more than we ever think that they would. I don't think I've ever met anybody who wasn't an interesting person in one way or another.

Timothy, as an adult, is entrenched in a community. He engages in that community through with the National Farmer's Union and environmental activities. He sought an Athabasca University English course as a tool to develop writing skills that would assist him in his activities. Though he is integrated in his community, he likes the challenge of meeting and discussing issues with new people with different perspectives. It could thus be suggested that there is not necessarily, for Timothy, a division between the academic and public communities. His sense of community and integration encompasses both.

Darlene

Darlene is a 37 year old business woman in a small northern Alberta town. She, like Timothy, is entrenched in her community. Her purpose for university level study reflects her career/business aspirations. She describes the decision making process of enrollment at AU as follows:

> Well, in about 1986 I reviewed, in a very serious way, the kind of skills and capabilities that I had.... And I came up with a number of things about myself during that time that I was quite surprised about. You know, where my real skills lay. And, the answers that kept coming up were administrative types of things and so I looked at what AU had to offer. Like, my only choice really, was distance education.
>
> I was not interested in going back to school in a classroom lecture type of situation. It had to be one I could do at home. I looked at the administrative principles various courses and the administration program in particular and felt that there were a number of courses that would be of particular value to me in the beginning to build and enhance the skills that I had discovered. And so I did that.
>
> Those are the areas I want to try to achieve as courses and the way in which I have chosen courses has been to focus on, on the ones with greatest priority in terms of building those skills and knowledge in those areas and I've purposely left some of the courses until on in the future sometime that I see as having less applications to those particular skills. So that if I never get to them, well that's okay!
>
> And another aspect of this program has been that there are several courses within the Bache-

> lor of Administration program that also will give me credit towards real estate designations.

Darlene's strategic decision-making process was not unlike Timothy's. Indeed both are common to many AU students. unlike many other AU students. Darlene's purposes for study relates to her strong sense of social integration into her community.

> I'm involved in pro-life work. I'm involved in working with a youth group at our church. I'm involved in selling real estate and these things have applications all across the board in what I'm doing. It helps me to organize and to develop systems and ways of doing things that makes my work more effective.
>
> I sit on the Alberta Pro Life Alliance (board) and I have found that the kinds of skills that I gained through the courses have helped me to think in a logical way and to help people clarify goals and objectives at the board level in a number of different applications.

Darlene's educational experience is helping to boost her career (credentials) and she is employing her knowledge and skills in other community organizations as well.

Brian

Brian is a 33 year old fireman in Edmonton. He lives comfortably with his wife and child in a nice suburb. He has a B.Sc., and is pursuing administration courses to obtain qualifications to enhance his career. While his integration into his community is not as intensive as that of Timothy or Darlene, his motives for study reflect his career expectations:

> My older brothers, I've got three older brothers, all that have post graduate degrees so definitely I suppose I had good examples to follow. So that's part of it. Our family has just always done that and I would like to as well. Secondly my employer, has definitely sponsored me on these courses to some extent.
>
> Yeah, like I say, it's following the good example I've had. Definitely, I am encouraged by my employer, financially and otherwise to do it. It's an opportunity to take them up on something that benefits me, very much!
>
> ....I've considered wanting to start my own small business and I don't know how I'd ever have the nerve to take that gamble or not but you know, friends around me have done that and what not. Right now, I'm just pursuing the education so that some day I might have the background that I might get the loans I need if I want to start a small business. I'd have the knowledge to make it work and if I ever got laid off or for some reason hated the (organization), ten years from now...

Brian's concern for education is career-oriented. General interest is not an issue. He is integrated into a social context (particularly his family)and his study is related to this community:

> Well, my father's deceased but I know he would have supported it anyway and my Mom definitely does too. You know, I don't know how to put it any differently but I'm convinced that my whole family definitely would encourage me to keep going.

The support and integration is not universal and Brian finds that his colleagues do not always understand his study habit.

> I get a little bit of razzle but that's okay. ...Well, you should try working in a department where ninety five percent of the employees are hired for being in prime physical shape.

Brian has definite ideas about what he wants to achieve. He, too, has a home and community life into which he seems to be integrated. At the present time, the depth of social ties did seem to be weaker for Brian in this urban community than for those in the rural areas. The purposes of his study were career oriented and did not seem to relate to his life outside of work except that he was meeting "family expectations". It is interesting that Brian was labeled a "bookworm" by his colleagues. Though there is indeed integration to a social context which gives meaning to his study this must not be viewed as universal support for one's study.

Muriel

Muriel, a 50 year old women and newcomer to Alberta from the Maritimes, was recently laid off from her job. She has experienced rough economic and family times. Her reasons for enrolling in an AU course were:

> But I was just going through a period of shock and the first depression of my life. I had just, I had worked for a firm. And I worked very hard and I assumed two jobs.
>
> And they led me a merry trail, just called me in one morning, called the staff in and said; "We're closing our doors." And we had no idea! And, they timed it so that... We got paid once a month. This happened a couple of days before pay day.
>
> So, I'm in complete shock! So at the time that I saw this ad, I was over seeing a friend and "Options for Women" was talking of what you could do. It was just a complete shock because I felt, you know, just so betrayed and here the flyer was on the wall there that they called it (I don't know why they called it that) the University for the Unemployed.
>
> Which gives you the impression that they're going to take you and retrain you but when I read the fine print, of course, the only course they were offering was for Women Studies. And I thought; Well, I've always wanted to take that.
>
> So as it turned out it was a blessing, the timing actually! And not only that, just being numb with shock and having to look for a new job and everything it kind of kept the momentum going. I don't think the university realizes that it's not that you're just offering a course to people. It was kind of a life raft to hang on to!

The course had a special meaning for Muriel, not in terms of career advancement, as we have seen with Brian, but rather a profound personal awakening.

> Well, the course was very surprising what I found out about myself. I'm usually very quiet, peace loving person, see things going, it doesn't matter what's happening, just keep things going. I never realized how much anger I had in me. And made it very, very difficult to write the essays and every- thing. In fact I ended up with a much lower mark because I just was able to get in part of my essays because of the emotional state I was in to start with and on top of that, all this anger welling up in me every time. I can't tell you how much anger I found because not only for my own situation but as you read about what has happened to women and so much we don't know about.

This profound awakening did not just limit itself to "personal growth" but to social action.

> But where do you change? Like we talk so much about the influence in our studies and how do we ever change the world for the better but where do you do it? Well, the only decision I came

> to after the course was that I have to get into volunteer work. that's the only thing. Get involved! Stay in touch! And then see where that leads. That's the only answer I can see because other than that...
>
> This is what I had in mind is to go to a Battered Womens Shelter and see what I can do, like like maybe go and do some part time on weekends or whatever.
>
> And also even make things that are necessary. Like one thing in the course they talked about one shelter on the south side of the city, the power went off for a couple days or something and that shelter was in that area. They only had one blanket for each bed. Those women were very cold and very uncomfortable and there was nothing else to give them except one blanket each and that's not much comfort when there's no heat in the house during the winter. So that was rather a shock. I presumed, like I knew there was quite a shortage of beds and stuff like that but I thought they were well equipped. I never thought that there were a shortage of blankets.
>
> And I've been talking to a friend and we're going to try and work something out.

This last case epitomizes the power of adult distance education. It is a tool for that can change lives of people and empower them to action. Their social context takes on new meaning. Social integration forms the basic social conditions upon which meaning is constructed. It is this constructed meaning within a given social context that empowers adult students to change social and moral structures within their communities and to enhance their lives and the lives of others.

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TOWARD RELEVANT ADULT EDUCATION WITH FIRST NATIONS PEOPLE

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Introduction

The papers consider two methods of adult education, the cultural camp experience and participatory research, in terms of their relevance to the development goals and their congruence with the cultural values of Indian people.

Les documents considèrent deux d'éducation aux adultes: la recherche engageante et une expérience culturelle dans un camp, et ce, en rapport avec le développement des buts et en harmonic avec les valeurs culturelles du peuple autochtone.

CULTURAL CAMPS AND FRIEREAN ADULT EDUCATION (GI)

Historical Background

For the past 250 years the Indigenous people of Canada have suffered as a result of colonization by fur companies, settlers, government, and the justice system imposed on them by the invading white society (Driedger, 1980). As a result of being overwhelmed by the technologically superior European society, Canada's aboriginal people became a marginalized people in a land that had been theirs for thousands of years. European contact has had a devastating effect on the aboriginal people, but for the Europeans and their descendants it has brought wealth through the acquisition of Indian lands and the resources that were part of it. The Indian people suffered loss of land, language and traditional life style. For years Indian people were prohibited by law from practicing many of their spiritual ceremonies. Alienation from their religion and ceremonies was further agravated by removing Indian children from their families and placing them in government and church run residential schools. Here they were separated from family for years and were not allowed to speak their language or to practice their spiritual beliefs. These policies of assimilation had such devastating effects that Indian people are still suffering from policies designed and implemented over 100 years ago (Driedger, 1980; Fiddler, 1990).

Cultural Camps

Aboriginal communities as widely separated and distinct from each other as the Inupiaq (an aleut-Eskimo people) of northwestern Alaska and the Plains Cree people of Saskatchewan have developed the concept of cultural or spiritual camps as one way of negating the detrimental effects of the assimilation policy of church and state on the aboriginal people. The main purpose is to restore to aboriginal people their culture, religion and pride in being Indian, Inuit or Metis (Gaffney, 1981). Cultural camp is designed to renew awareness of Indian culture and lifestyle from a traditional perspective. It also facilitates the promotion of positive Indian image, identity and ability to cope with contemporary conflicts, stress and confusion (Fiddler, 1990).

The Saskatchewan Indian Federated College initiated their cultural camp program in 1975 as a required component of their Indian Social Work program. Cultural camp was designed to help Indian students retain and rebuild their Indian identity as so many, particularly the young, were losing their language, culture and sense of Indianness.

Aboriginal people were losing touch with their culture and heritage and at the same time were being denied entry into the dominant white society. They were a marginalized people whose only purpose in society was, it seemed, to create employment for white teachers, social workers and justice systems personnel. Many Indian people were filling unemployment lines, welfare lines and correctional centres.

The Saskatchewan Department of Justice in their 1989-90 Corrections 5 year Business Plan states that:

a. Saskatchewan natives make up 80% of the provinces people living in poverty.
b. 79% of all native households in Regina and Saskatoon are social welfare recipients.
c. Saskatchewan has the highest rate of incarceration in Canada and 65% of those incarcerated are people of native ancestry.
d. Alcohol abuse is a major factor when natives come in conflict with the law. In almost all cases the victims and offender know each other (Sask. Justice, 1990).

The above information is indicative of the breakdown of aboriginal society as a result of the European colonization process. Cultural camps and cultural programs are being developed and used to reverse this process by native communities, as well as educational and correctional centres.

Cultural Camp and the Adult Education Process

One of the basic beliefs of the community development process is:

> All groups can do something to help themselves when given an opportunity to do so on their own terms. Most outsiders who try to help people of Indian ancestry expect them to solve their problems using white standards of behavior. Metis and Indians would organize many successful community improvements if they were allowed to solve their problems in their own way (Human Organization, 1961, p. 234).

Cultural camps have much in common with adult education and the liberation process promoted by Paulo Freire through his concepts of conscientization and praxis (1970). That is, people making changes in their life situation by becoming aware of their situation and taking action to change it (Darkenwald, 1982, Freire, 1970).

The colonization process that the aboriginal people of Canada have suffered under for many years is not dissimilar to the process that has marginalized the native people of South and Central America, whom Freire worked with for many years before being expelled from Brazil for his awareness teaching techniques.

As marginalized people are radicalized and transformed they are more likely to decide to take upon themselves the struggle to change the structures of society which have been oppressing them (Friere, 1970). Canada's aboriginal people have been the peasants of the north for many years. Treaties that were signed back in the 18th and 19th centuries have been broken, disregarded or unfulfilled. They have been denied their rightful land, language, culture, education and spiritual freedom which are all important to positive development in todays world.

Cultural camps as an educational process can help Indian people be restored to a traditional sense of Indian values. If they are strong in their identity as Aboriginal people their chances of success will be greatly enhanced.

The marrow of the Frierean method is people teaching each other thus enhancing the liberation process and allowing people to take control of their own lives and communities. This is similar to the cultural camp process and its reason for being. Cultural camp uses Indian elders and resource persons to pass on Indian language and heritage to those who wish to learn and make positive change in the Indian community.

The methods of teaching are a combination of contemporary and traditional educational processes. Some resource people will use flip-charts and audio-visual equipment while others, such as elders, will use traditional methods of teaching such as story-telling, sweet-grass picking and talking circles.

Be it an Indian cultural camp in Saskatchewan or a Freireian peasant group in Brazil the purpose and method is to enable either group to overcome the effects of their colonial past by encouraging them to work together to gain control of their lives. This is not only a step on the pathway to self determination for aboriginal people it is also congruent with the purpose of adult education, particularly as it is promoted and delivered through the methods of Paulo Friere.

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PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH: EMPOWERING FIRST NATIONS (JS)

First Nations people have priorized self-determination as essential to their developmental goals. This priority permeates the agenda whether the focus is on health issues, child welfare or education (Comeau, Santin, 1990). There is a spectrum of 'ways & means' that will enhance this self-determined thrust, one of which may be participatory research (Tobias, 1982). As adult educators work alongside First Nations people who are aspiring to reclaim their interdependence, this research process may prove to be a relevant and congruent means of moving away from oppression toward liberatory development. In attempting to create a picture of how participatory research 'fits' in terms of goals and values of Indian people we must initially acknowledge that there are no rigid parameters, no inflexible rules, no steps, no recipes. Bud Hall states this clearly when he writes, "There is no single method of participatory research. It is a set of principles, a way of interacting and a contribution to social movements in general" (Hall, 1988, p. 7, cited in Mellor, 1988).

In practice, the following three aspects of participatory research are interrelated and interdependent, and that relationship gives strength and power to the whole process (Tobias, 1982). One aspect is the "collective reflection" of issues that the participatory group priorizes and remains involved with throughout the research (Kussam & Mustafa, 1982). Another is the "collective analysis" of the issues and problems at hand, and examination of the broader structures affecting those concerns. Finally, there is "collective action" by the participatory group which addresses long term as well as short term solutions.

Some ways in which participatory researchers may enhance the process they become involved in are dialogue, purposeful reflection and problem-posing (Tobias, 1982). Collective dialogue is central to this approach. Through discussion of experiences people begin to understand one another's reality and can compare common problems. Creating the atmosphere in which people talk honestly and openly not only creates the possibility for agreement, but also for conflict. "Analysis and action are strengthened through debate and discussion" (p. 2). Conflict becomes an accepted part of the whole, and can lead to transcendence and true consensus.

A recent participatory research group made up of Indian Elders and adult educators had a primary focus of researching popular knowledge of the Plains and Parkland Cree spiritual beliefs. The group also reflected on the process that emerged over the months of participatory committment. It was essential to recognize that, as important as content is to many people, the process which is used to garner the information is equally relevant. In this instance, for example, seeking popular wisdom of a spiritual nature, would not have been successful at all, if the approach had not engendered respect, participation and justice. It is the group's critical reflections on their process and pertinent literature which are used to support the contention that participatory research supports a philosophy of self-determination.

An analysis indicates congruency with current needs of First Nations people and their development. The collective focus is culturally sound, as Indigenous people traditionally focused strongly on group input, dialogue, communal problem solving and decision making (Weatherford, 1987). Ways of incorporating this collective process into their contemporary lives have been drastically diminished through colonial dominance, but the will to participate thrives. As well, Indian individuals, groups and nations have stated repeatedly that they live the problems, they need to understand the problems and they need to solve the problems. The Freireian cycle of conscientization and praxis well suits the needs of Indian nations and their agenda - ownership of their issues.

A core committment that our participatory group made was to such ownership through empowerment. Empowerment has sometimes become co-opted by power brokers such as political groups or educational institutions (Zacharakis-Dutz, 1988). They perceive power as theirs dole out or to rescind as charity, depending on their perceptions of whether the recipients of their gift have used it appropriately. This tendency is another means of status quo maintenance. Within the context of this analysis empowerment does not denote charity. Empowerment is perceived in this context as "the taking of power" (p. 45), with the participants actively assuming an authority over their lives.

Dominant cultures see their culture as "the culture" and others as "a culture" (Porter & Samovar, 1988). Their ethnocentricity leads them to dismiss the history of others. It is difficult to understand how so many historians and scholars could find it strange that "Indian Nations have their own tales and histories of origins, migrations and rise and fall of kingdoms (no less debatable than Biblical stories)" (p. 13). Surfacing true historical memory is vital for liberating minds and spirits (Livingstone, 1987). Knowledge is power, and people who have been powerless must seek the knowledge of their own history, and reinforce the notion that suffering matters. Adult educators engaged in participatory research with Indian communities can be on the cutting edge of "unmasking the lies, myths, and distortions that constructed the basis for the dominant order" (Livingstone, 1987, p. xii).

The recognition of the lives of oppressed Indian Nations as important realities begins to challenge the status quo of our societies "knowledge pool". Knowledge has been defined and controlled in the main by the interests of the modern scientific society, but empowerment clearly challenges this paradigm. The concept of empowerment, partnered with participatory research, can result in the resurfacing of popular wisdom which lost its authority as acceptable, because power-brokers defined what was the dominant knowledge system (Gaventa, 1988). This popular knowledge represents part of the cultural identity of people. It is vital, empowering knowledge supporting survival and development over centuries, and it reinforces the belief that every person can contribute to the intellectual endeavors of their people. Participatory research provides a process for knowledge creation. When historical memory helps to recreate relevant popular wisdom, and when critiqued and examined contemporary issues creates a different type of popular knowledge, the combination can be very enlightening and potentially empowering.

Participatory research becomes viable and important to Indian communities given the need for self-directed learning from a critical perspective. It is within this context that awareness and clarity regarding oppressive structures of power can take seed and entwine with action to redress injustices. The philosophical concepts which are the key focus in this research are the importance of people being in the center of the research experience controlling the process, the development of critical awareness, the embracing of empowerment as a means of social change and valuing the unique experiences -- the subjectivities of people -- toward knowledge creation (Collins, 1988, Tandon, 1988). These guiding concepts are inextricable interwoven. The philosophical basis for all of them is the achievement of justice, liberation and the power to think, reflect, act and react freely. Within the participatory research process a milieu is created in which these guiding principles may be begun to be realized. As well, a context is established which allows Indian Nations to continue to question whether, in fact, they are making concrete strides toward the essence of liberation.

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Nurse Education and Women's Health Movements

Helen Jefferson Lenskyj

This paper investigates the links between feminist pedagogy, women's health movements and nurse education.

Ce texte examine les connexions entre la pédagogie féministe, les mouvements pour la santé de la femme, et l'éducation des femmes au profession d'infirmière.

Women's studies and nurse education

For over two decades, feminist educators have been challenging male definitions of knowledge, its generation and distribution. The growth of women's studies programs, the proliferation of feminist scholarship and the development of feminist approaches to teaching and learning are all important indications of progress towards transforming both the content and process of education. Although interdisciplinary women's studies programs are expanding in colleges and universities, they tend to be restricted to courses in the social sciences and humanities, and have made less of an impact in the areas of science and technology. Since nurse education has a strong science component, nursing students may complete their studies with little exposure to women's studies or feminist pedagogy. The emphasis on science tends to orient nurses towards psychological rather than sociological ways of analysing human behaviour and experience and thus may impede understanding of critical theory and feminist analyses.

Feminist teachers and learners are by definition engaged in a political project. In content and in process, the women's studies class is a site of women's conscientization, resistance and struggle over issues of race, class and sexuality, as well as gender oppression. The group support thus generated ideally gives rise to collective action; hence, there is an organic relationship between feminist teachers and learners and the various feminist, anti-racist and other progressive social movements (Fisher, 1987).

The growth of community-based women's health movements both nationally and internationally attests to the strength of the relationship between feminist studies and political action. Many feminists working on women's health issues left mainstream health systems in order to develop woman-centred programs and services that incorporate feminist analyses of racism, class oppression, misogyny and homophobia. These range from self-help publications such as *Healthcaring* to the educational and advocacy work of the National Black Women's Health Project, with 150 self-help chapters in the United States.

Such approaches go beyond the mainstream health system's consideration of "the social determinants of health" to explore the ways in which women are agents, capable of making changes in their lives, as well as victims of social structures that perpetuate socio-economic, sexual and racial injustice. Influenced by marxist and neo-marxist theories, socialist and radical feminist approaches to women's health promote women's individual and collective resistance to hegemonic health care practices and oppressive social systems (Fee, 1977).

The social relations of feminist education

Feminist theorists Janice Raymond (1986) and Elizabeth Minnich (1983) promote friendship among women as a key concept and goal in feminist education. In an article titled "Friends and critics," Minnich analyses two related issues: the social relations of the feminist teaching and learning, and the need to develop critiques of traditional knowledge and curriculum, on the one hand, and of feminist knowledge and political action, on the other. Similarly, Raymond's book, A Passion for Friends, formulates a positive theory of women's personal and political empowerment through female friendship.

Minnich chooses to speak of women teaching and learning together as friends, rather than using the more common "mother/daughter" metaphors derived from the traditional nuclear family. Friendship implies a freely chosen, publicly celebrated relationship between equals. In these friendships, women can, and should, make judgments and distinctions. In Minnich's words, "equality requires an honest and critical intelligence that evaluates and is not afraid of judgment" (Minnich, 1983;321). Similarly, Raymond emphasizes the importance of developing discretion and discernment, and identifies the problem of the "nurturing syndrome" - an outcome of family and societal pressure to nurture others - that prevents many women, teachers and learners, from critically evaluating each other's opinions and judgments (Raymond, 1986; 187-8).

In a provocative article on 'revolutionary feminist pedagogy', Bell Hooks describes how, in her own teaching of Black women's studies, challenge and confrontation replace the security and enjoyment that many feminist teachers cultivate (Hooks, 1988). Minnich, too, stresses that the feminist educational enterprise is characterised by struggle, not security. The truth of her statement is borne out whenever women grapple with issues such as racism, homophobia and class privilege.

Perhaps what is needed is relative safety but not necessarily comfort. Teachers and learners have a shared responsibility to contribute to safety and trust, on the one hand, and to healthy critique, on the other. Anger is a likely product of learners' newly developed critical awareness, and, as Culley (1985; 216) explains, can serve as "one important source of the energy for political and personal change." However, it has become clear to me that some women's lives outside the classroom may be so fraught with anger and pain that they may feel justified in expecting a sanctuary in a women-only classroom, and what is experienced as healthy critique by one woman may be unbearably threatening to another. This is especially likely if the critique is coming from the teacher, who may have come to represent nurturing rather than confrontation.

Feminist teaching and learning requires all women's experiences to be recognized and validated, for they form the 'raw material' of feminist analysis. However, these experiences may be interpreted and analysed in different ways - and ways that do not necessarily have equal validity - according to the various feminist theoretical approaches and women's different social and cultural locations. A woman may experience different interpretations as a personal attack, especially if maintenance of her own worldview has become a crucial survival mechanism in a hostile family or work situation. Women's conscientization leads to the analysis of personal problems in terms of the wider societal context of capitalist patriarchy, a process that may produce anger and pain as well as empowerment. For example, in my experience, some nurses and nurse educators oppose any feminist critique of the health care system, probably because they are only able to survive by denying how oppressive it is towards women in general, and nurses in particular.

Nursing and nurse education

Since the nursing profession is almost entirely in women's hands, it would seem a fertile field for the development of woman-centred initiatives to empower both the providers and the recipients of health care. However, there are conflicting trends in female-dominated fields that both facilitate and hinder social change. For nurses, clear career paths and absence of strong male competition may enable progressive women in teaching or administrative positions to bring about significant social change, both in the practice of health care and in the organization of the profession. On the other hand, there is the problem of lack of solidarity among nurses who do not acknowledge their collective identity as women and as workers in a health care system that is profoundly hierarchical, sexist, racist and classist.

The nursing literature repeatedly calls for greater solidarity among women; many authors identify the problem of "horizontal hostility" common to oppressed groups - hostility taking the form of rivalry, competitiveness and lack of mutual trust and support among women who have internalized anti-woman values and behaviour (e.g., Pearlmutter, 1987; Morrison, 1982). Further contributing to the lack of solidarity are the problems of chronic stress, burnout, despair and rage at an unjust system, and feelings of hopelessness and powerlessness brought about by lack of control over working conditions (Smythe, 1982). For feminist nurses, there are the added daily stresses of challenging gender-based power relations within the medical hierarchy, most specifically the problems arising from the perception of nurses as "doctor's handmaids" (Telis, 1986; Heide, 1982). Finally, for Black women and women of colour, race-based hierarchies within the health care system, evident in the over-representation of Black women and women of colour as health aides, pose yet another layer of oppression.

Raymond's work is of particular relevance to understanding the situation of nurses and nurse educators. In discussing obstacles to female friendship and collective political action, she goes beyond simple prescriptions for solidarity to an analysis of the socially constructed barriers to friendship that stem from 'victimism'. This term refers to women's tendency to identify with one another solely on the grounds of shared pain, and the related pattern of resentment often misdirected at successful or powerful women. Victimism obscures the history of women's freely chosen friendships and their importance in women's ongoing resistance.

There is some evidence, however, that women in nursing are increasingly looking to one another for friendship and solidarity. Applying Raymond's ideas to nursing, Peggy Chinn and her colleagues developed a questionnaire on nurses' feelings about female friendship and nursing, published in a 1987 issue of the _American Journal of Nursing._ (It is interesting to note that in 1982 Peggy Chinn and Charlene Wheler began producing a journal called _Cassandra: Radical Feminist Nurses Newsjournal_.)

Responses to the questionnaire from over 800 nurses indicated that over 80% expected their female friends to give them advice and criticism and to stand by them in difficult times; they saw friendships as providing a place for mutual nurturing, for free and open talk, for gaining a sense of self-worth and for sorting out thoughts without being judged (Chinn et al, 1987; 1988). Only 52% of respondents said they expected help with their professional careers. In the AJN responses, the emphasis was on equal, authentic friendships, developed for mutual personal and professional support, in spite of the numerous ways in which institutions, especially hospitals, created barriers to solidarity among nurses.

Research has shown that most nurses have limited involvement in women's political groups outside of their professional organizations. Webster's study of 57 feminist nurse psychotherapists reported that almost half of the respondents had no current involvement with the women's movement (Webster, 1986). Respondents to Chinn's survey of nurses also reported lack of time as a barrier to political involvement, and both Banning (1989) and Hoffman (1991) point to the dearth of feminist literature concerning this female-dominated profession.

While much of the literature on nursing dwells on the barriers to women's solidarity, Mary O'Brien (1989) and Wilma Scott Heide (1982) are two notable exceptions. O'Brien points to the strong sense of solidarity among nurses who are challenging state-imposed definitions of health care and 'professionalization'. Many nurses, too, are working in alliance with other feminists on issues such as reproductive freedom, legalized midwifery and alternative approaches to health care. Heide identifies a long list of feminist projects undertaken by the American Nurses Association in the 1970s and 1980s, ranging from recognition of lesbian nurses' concerns to involvement in global feminist health movements. Hoffman (1991) provides an updated list of US networks of nurses interested in issues of social class, race, sexual orientation and gender. On a similar note, recent articles in _The Canadian Nurse_ identify the ways in which nurses are active participants in women's struggles for improved working conditions and professional autonomy (Banning, 1989; Dalton, 1990). And the commitment of feminist and lesbian health care workers to AIDS education and to the care of people living with AIDS is an outstanding example of political activism.

Implications for nurse education

Major changes in nurse education programs are needed in order for nurses and nurse educators to develop a critical consciousness of their status as workers and as women, as well as other identities that result in diminished power and privilege. Given the changing role of nurses in the community, professional preparation for their work as educators and advocates on issues of health promotion and disease prevention is also crucial. Public health nurses' emerging responsibilities as educators of children and adults, and as political activists working in coalition with community groups such as the women's health movement and the AIDS movement, are not yet reflected in their professional education. Nurse education that combined feminist pedagogy and critical feminist analyses of health care systems would empower nurses to fulfil many of these emerging roles and responsibilities.

A pioneering nursing course at the University of Cincinnati in the late 1970s, "Political power in the health care arena," addressed many of these issues with its learner-centred approach and its emphasis on nurses' involvement in political lobbying and activism (Krimmerman, 1984; see also Edwards et al., 1985). I am currently developing a similar course titled "Women's learning, women's health movements and the health professions" which will investigate recent social change movements in North America and internationally that have focused on women's health. In the course, various feminist analyses of women's learning and women's health will be evaluated with particular attention to factors such as social class, race/ethnicity and sexuality.

Models for professional consultation and supervision developed by feminist counsellors and psychotherapists can be adapted to meet some of ongoing needs of feminists in nursing. At the Women's Therapy Centre in London, ongoing professional support and learning takes in peer supervision groups and staff study groups ("consciousness raising" for therapists) as well as in individual supervision. In a Toronto community college, instructors in a feminist counselling course took part in a weekend workshop on issues of power and authority in the feminist classroom, and developed ongoing structures for communication and mutual support (Eichenbaum and Orbach, 1982; Krzowski, 1988).

The "friends and critics" model is clearly evident in these kinds of support groups, where women share their personal, professional and political experiences, and develop the ability to give and take critical feedback in the context of friendship. This is precisely the kind of climate that I have been attempting to create in my teaching at OISE, especially among the women who share a common identity as nurses. However, the thorny issues of difference based on race/ethnicity, social class and sexuality, as well women's diverse political stances, continue to pose a challenge, and, for women in the health professions, these problems are exacerbated by the specific internal pressures and politics of a female-dominated field. Hence, the arguments for developing authentic bonds between women as critics as well as friends are especially compelling for nurse education.

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WORKPLACE LEARNING: Some New Perspectives on Management Development

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Abstract: Embracing self-planned learning as a meaningful way to conduct learning can result in a reframing of an organization's approach to management development and training. This study which examined management self-planned learning provides a new look at how management learning occurs in the workplace.

Resume: La reconnaissance de l'apprentissage auto-géré comme méthode significative d'apprentissage peut amener les organisations à restructurer les programmes de formation de leurs gestionnaires. Cette étude propose une novelle approche du processus d'apprentissage en milieu de travail par l'examen de l'apprentissage auto-géré.

The bulk of management learning in organizations is done outside of formal training and development programs (Zemke, 1985). Organizations have recognized the importance of this way of learning to management development, and consequently, some have contemplated ways to plan and control it (Honeywell, 1986). However, organizations ordinarily do not consider learning done outside of formal training and development programs as self-planned learning. In this paper I propose that if the place and value of self-planned learning is recognized, organizations need not plan for and control all learning, but rather they can focus on supporting and assisting self-planned learning efforts of managers (and other staff).

There is support in the literature for organizations adopting a different perspective on learning in the workplace. As far back as 1960, Douglas McGregor advocated that organizations should reexamine the thinking underlying the "manufacturing approach" to management development. More recently, others, including Marsick (1988), Lowy, Kelleher, and Finestone (1986), Dailey (1984), and Meier (1985) have argued that organizations need to change in order to accommodate a broader concept of learning. As well, Guglielmino and Guglielmino (1988) suggested that the close relationship between factors of self-directed learning readiness and conditions of a constantly changing workplace create a situation that is right for self-directed learning. Guglielmino and Guglielmino (1988) and Ravid (1985) made some specific recommendations for how organizations can initiate action to promote, support, and develop self-directedness in their employees.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the job and career-related self-planned learning efforts of managers and the influence organizational context had on their learning efforts. As well, I was interested in determining whether a better link could be developed between managers' self-planned learning efforts and the formal management training and development efforts of an organization. The study is significant because it provides a better understanding of managers' self-planned learning in the workplace, and provides a basis for understanding how fresh approaches can be developed for management training and development.

Concept of Self-Planned Learning

The concept of self-planned learning adopted in this study is based on the work of Allen Tough (1979), who defined a major learning effort as a deliberate effort to gain and retain certain definite knowledge and skill, or to change in some other way. This study was concerned with learning efforts of managers that were self-planned by definition, i.e., the learner is in control of the critical decisions regarding learning. The study attempted to examine learning of middle managers which was not controlled by the organization, i.e., outside of the formal management training and development program. The terms "independent or autonomous learning" refer to learning on one's own, apart from others. However, self-planned learning is not synonymous with independent learning, since self-planned learners tend to continually interact with others. The learner may seek information and advice from a variety of individuals and utilize a variety of materials and resources, but still retains control of and responsibility for the learning decisions.

Findings of the Study

Self-Planned Learning Efforts

The findings describe the nature of the self-planned learning of middle-level managers (mid-managers) in the workplace; what was learned, why self-planned learning was used, and how self-planned learning related to formal management development efforts. The findings provide a sketch of mid-managers' self-planned learning efforts (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Mid-Managers as Self-Planned Learners

. Mid-managers conducted self-planned learning over a range of topics related to their jobs and careers;

. The self-planned learning efforts of mid-managers were acceptable and fit within the plans of the organizations;

. The self-planned learning of mid-managers helped to balance the plans of the organization and the needs of the individual for management development;

. The self-planned learning of mid-managers was valued in the organization for the learning that resulted and as a process of learning;

. The self-planned learning efforts of mid-managers had pay-offs for both the learners and the organization.

Mid-managers were active self-planned learners. The mid-managers in the study were involved in learning that represented a range of topics, related to their jobs and careers as managers, within three categories or types of learning: management-related; job-related (integrative); and job-related (specific/technical). Typically, a middle level manager is required to utilize three skill levels: conceptual skills, human relations skills, and technical skills. The formal development program in the organization provided training that allowed managers to develop skills at the first two levels. As self-planned learners, managers engaged in learning which developed skills at all three levels. In other words, managers were able to satisfy learning needs, as self-planned learners, that they would not able to do within the formal program. This was particularly true for technical learning, an area which remains important at the mid-management level. Self-planned learning efforts appeared to be the only way in which managers could upgrade their technical skills.

The range of mid-managers' self-planned learning demonstrates that learning occurred across a range of topics important to management performance. The self-planned learning of mid-managers was acceptable to the organization. Although all self-planned learning was within the tolerance limits for learning by mid-managers, there was a range of acceptability. Management-related learning was most acceptable while job-related (specific) learning ranked lowest. This finding signals to organizations that they can safely endorse the self-planned learning of mid-managers.

Mid-managers were actively engaged in self-planned learning that fit with the organization's plans. The best fit was for learning that was generally applicable. Organizational representatives advocated that a better alignment of individual learning plans with organizational plans could be achieved by establishing a clearer sense of direction and communicating expectations to staff at all levels in the organization.

Given the apparent acceptability and fit, there was considerable variability in the self-planned learning efforts of mid-managers. Mid-managers attributed this variability to different learning needs that resulted from both job and personal differences. While the formal management development program attempted to satisfy general learning needs of managers throughout the organization, it could not satisfy the unique learning requirements of all managers. Consequently, mid-managers attempted to meet their personal learning agendas through self-planned learning.

In this way self-planned learning smooths out the unevenness in the learning demands within an organization. As well, these self-planned learning efforts broaden the management development and training opportunities available without placing additional strain on training and development resources. The positive implication for an organization lies in an increase in the learning that occurs without an investment of significant additional resources. Self-planned learning allows organizations to do more with essentially the same level of investment and to achieve increased productivity in terms of management training and development.

Value was ascribed to self-planned learning in two ways: 1) value of the learning outcomes, and 2) value of self-planned learning as a way of learning. In both instances, value accrued to the organization and to the individual. This finding answers some of the criticism of self-directed learning research. For example, Brookfield (1985, 1988) criticized prior self-directed learning research for overlooking the quality of the learning. The fact that both learners and organizational representatives attested to the value (quality) of mid-managers' learning further strengthens the case for organizations to support self-planned learning initiatives. As a way of learning, self-planned learning appeared to have greater utility in cases where learning needs were unique. Mid-managers valued self-planned learning for several reasons, including increased learning efficiency, improved access to learning, and an improved sense of personal satisfaction/fulfilment from learning. Organizational representatives, because of their different perspective (level) in the organization, valued the process of self-planned learning for the benefit gained by the organization, in terms of a more "well-rounded" management team that was more adaptable to change.

Modifying Management Training and Development

The findings of the study suggest that mid-manager's self-planned learning is relevant, meaningful, and valuable. Viewing management training and development from a perspective which embraces self-planned/directed learning as a meaningful way to conduct learning can result in fresh approaches to management training and development.

Approach to Training and Development

Organizations should review their formal programs to assess whether courses and programs are appropriate given the type of self-planned learning that is occurring. Optimally, formal programs deal with topics and content areas that propagate the values and mandate of the organization. Learning related to unique and specialized topics may be best handled by individuals in a self-planned way.

Training and development departments should have a renewed role in organizations that incorporates the design of formal training and development programs along with an expanded role as a learning resource centre. Part of the new role recommended for training and development staff is that of critical reactor. I agree with Brookfield (1988) that the self-planned/directed learning transaction should not cancel out the educator or in the case of workplace learning the training and development staff (and line managers).

This recommendation is made with some degree of caution because of the danger of co-opting self-planned learners into the formal system and the difficulties that may arise in boss-subordinate relationships. The intent is not to stifle or restrict self-planned learning initiatives but rather to increase the effectiveness of self-planned learning in the workplace.

Learners

Organizations need to develop the capabilities of self-direction/development of mid-managers. Grow (1991) outlined skills or capabilities of learners who are high in self-direction, including skills in time management, goal-setting, self-evaluation, peer critique, information gathering, and use of educational and learning resources. Temporal (1981) adds to this list the capability for self-analysis, and the capability to analyze environmental/climatic conditions, i.e., personal environmental scanning. Since mid-managers will vary in their ability for self-planned/directed learning, there is a need for organizations to assist individuals to acquire and improve their skills for self-planned learning.

Organizational Conditions

Organizations need to establish a supportive and challenging climate to foster self-planned learning. As described by Temporal (1981), a climate that supports management self-development consists of both supportive and pressure elements. Organizations should adopt a structure and style characteristic of an organic organization in order to create a setting more conducive to self-planned learning, i.e., a setting that allows greater flexibility and individual autonomy. In order to maximize the alignment of the organizational agenda and individual learning agendas of managers, planning should be linked with the performance appraisal process. Learning contracts could be utilized as part of the performance review process to promote learning, including self-planned learning. The standing plans of organizations, policies, procedures and rules, should not restrict self-planned learning. Rather, policies and practices should open learning opportunities and increase access to resources.

External Conditions

Organizations should actively engage in environmental scanning, with a particular concern for the impact of external factors on learning. This focused environmental scanning should be done as part of the proposed revised mandate of training and development departments. Managers (and other self-planned learners) should undertake environmental scanning on an individual basis.

Conclusion

In this study mid-managers and organizational representatives recognized that self-planned learning was not a stand alone approach to management training and development. They valued self-planned learning within the total training and development effort of the organization. Formal management training and development programs are important to the socialization and competence of managers in organizations. Equally important, however, is the learning individuals undertake on their own. A balanced approach to management development and training in which a relevant formal program is developed and self-planned learning is encouraged and supported seems advantageous.

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JEUNES ET ADULTES À L'UNIVERSITÉ: ATTENTES À L'ÉGARD DE LEUR SITUATION D'ÉDUCATION

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Les différences entre les attentes qu'entretiennent les adultes et les jeunes face à leur situation d'éducation est l'objectif de cette étude exploratoire exécutée auprès de 10 adultes et dix jeunes étudiant à temps complet au premier cycle de l'enseignement universitaire. L'analyse du contenu des entrevues semi-structurées permet d'établir des différences entre les deux groupes dont certaines confirment les postulats de Knowles (1984).

Differences between expectations toward the educational situation of 10 mature and 10 traditional students attending full time undergraduate university programs is the object of this exploratory study. Content analysis of the semi-structured interviews reveals important differences between the two groups. These findings provide support for assumptions put forward by Knowles (1984) about the adult and the young learner.

Des statistiques relativement récentes (C.S.E.Q., 1985) indiquent que la proportion des adultes qui s'inscrivent à des programmes réguliers de premier cycle universitaire varie de 15 à 20 pour cent de la population étudiante totale. Des études américaines abondent dans le même sens (Apps, 1981; Cross, 1980; Solmon et Gordon, 1981). De plus, dans l'ensemble de ces études, les auteurs prévoient que ce phénomène non seulement continuera d'exister mais pourra augmenter davantage. La pratique courante dans bon nombre d'universités est d'inscrire les adultes à temps plein, et de faire ainsi cohabiter dans les mêmes classes les adultes et les jeunes. Bien que la présence d'adultes à l'université s'accentue davantage en nombre, elle semble être atténuée par la dispersion de ceux-ci dans les nombreux cours offerts. Cette intégration des adultes aux programmes réguliers de premier cycle fait l'objet des préoccupations de certaines et de certains (ACDEAULF, 1990; C.E.S.Q., 1985; Landry, 1991).

Les études portant plus particulièrement sur les apprenantes et les apprenants adultes et jeunes en milieux éducatifs formels apportent quelques renseignements face à ces individus en situation d'apprentissage. Les adultes s'engagent dans des projets d'apprentissage par intérêt intellectuel et cognitif et pour approfondir leurs connaissances (Houle, 1961). De plus ces individus préfèrent les situations d'apprentissage où l'accent est davantage placé sur la confiance dans la capacité de l'adulte à apprendre et où l'enseignement est centré sur l'apprenante ou l'apprenant (Beer et Darkenwald, 1981; Kerwin, 1980; Tracy et Schuttenberg, 1986). D'autres (Brundage et Macheracher, 1980;

Cross, 1981), ajoutent que les adultes considèrent leur expérience personnelle comme étant la dynamique centrale de leur apprentissage. Par ailleurs, Knowles (1984) postule qu'il existe quelques différences entre l'adulte et le jeune relativement à l'apprentissage. L'adulte aime de comprendre l'utilité du contenu à apprendre, perçoit l'évaluation comme une collaboration avec le personnel enseignant et est stimulé à apprendre par des motifs internes. Le jeune est plutôt centré sur la matière à apprendre, se perçoit comme une personne dépendante du système, est orienté vers l'acquisition des connaissances qui lui seront utiles plus tard et est stimulé à apprendre par des motifs externes. Le jeune manifeste une approche plus ou moins dualiste face à l'apprentissage (King et Kitchener, 1985). Enfin, les jeunes s'inscrivent à des études afin d'acquérir une formation générale, d'améliorer leurs compétences intellectuelles, de se conformer aux attentes et normes familiales et sociales, et de pouvoir atteindre un statut social élevé (Mayhew, 1979; Solmon et Gordon, 1981).

Les écrits offrent quelques explications par rapport aux apprenantes et apprenants adultes et jeunes, mais certaines questions demeurent sans réponse lorsque la variable mixité adulte/jeune dans les classes universitaires est en cause. Peut-on concilier les aspirations des uns et des autres? Quelles sont les raisons qui amènent ces individus à choisir l'université comme milieu de formation? Que savons-nous de leurs attentes? Se décrivent-ils de la même manière comme apprenantes et apprenants?

Problème et question de recherche

L'université contemporaine oriente ses pratiques académiques et administratives vers la clientèle représentant la plus forte proportion d'inscriptions, soit les étudiantes et étudiants jeunes (Covey, 1983). Par ailleurs, elle accueille de plus en plus d'adultes dans presque tous ses programmes, tant ceux du jour que dans ceux du secteur de l'Éducation permanente. L'intégration des adultes aux programmes réguliers apporte une certaine hétérogénéité de la population étudiante et cette mixité adultes/jeunes pose des défis à l'université pour qui les éléments de solution demeurent toujours presque inexistants. C'est dans le but d'obtenir une meilleure compréhension de ce phénomène que la présente question est posée: **Des différences peuvent-elles être observées en ce qui concerne les attentes qu'entretiennent les apprenantes et les apprenants adultes et jeunes à l'égard de leur situation d'éducation universitaire?**

Pour répondre à cette question, un cadre de recherche est élaboré de façon exploratoire. Les concepts clé sont d'une part les attentes et d'autre part, ceux que Legendre (1984) définit comme faisant partie d'une situation d'éducation. Ce sont l'apprenant-e, le programme d'études, qui comprend le contenu, les méthodes d'enseignement et l'évaluation et enfin l'agent d'éducation qui tient compte du concept professeur-e et de celui des ressources en apprentissage.

Méthode de recherche

Les définitions opératoires du cadre de la recherche servent premièrement à guider le choix des individus pouvant devenir les sujets de la recherche, et deuxièmement, à créer l'instrument de la cueillette des informations. C'est ainsi que dix sujets adultes et dix jeunes inscrits à temps complet en première année d'un programme de premier cycle de l'enseignement universitaire sont retenus pour la recherche. Pour recueillir l'information désirée auprès de ces individus, l'entrevue semi-structurée est privilégiée.

Près de 1000 énoncés sont obtenus grâce à ce processus. Pour en saisir le sens, les énoncés qui constituent en effet les attentes exprimées, sont d'abord classées par rapport à chacune des dimensions et des sous-dimensions de la situation d'éducation. Par la suite, selon la méthode développée par Tremblay (1981), les énoncés sont soumis à un processus de réduction systématique et classés en énoncés synonymes, en sous-catégories et en catégories. Afin d'augmenter la rigueur de la méthode d'analyse de contenu, chaque étape est soumise à une validation appropriée à l'aide d'un jury différent à chaque fois.

Résultats

Le total des énoncés bruts est réduit à 111 sous-catégories et à 25 catégories. Afin d'établir l'existence d'une différence entre les adultes et les jeunes les paramètres suivants sont retenus. Afin qu'une catégorie ou une sous-catégorie d'attente soit considérée importante, elle doit être mentionnée par cinq sujets et plus dans l'un ou l'autre des groupes. L'existence d'une différence entre les adultes et les jeunes est déterminée par le calcul de l'écart entre le nombre de sujets et ce, dans le cas où l'attente est jugée importante par au moins un groupe de sujets. Sont présentés ci-après les résultats significatifs aux sous-catégories pour chacune des dimensions de la situation d'éducation.

Dimension: apprenant-e

Les énoncés (n=308) de cette dimension sont regroupés en sept catégories et 31 sous-catégories dont 12 de celles-ci présentent une différence entre les adultes et les jeunes. Les adultes souhaitent se développer personnellement et intellectuellement, désirent utiliser leur expérience en apprentissage, visent à obtenir une satisfaction personnelle et souhaitent être acceptés par les apprenantes et les apprenants jeunes. Se préparer à leur vie future, réussir dans leurs études, se développer globalement, se prendre en charge, faire plaisir à d'autres et avoir une vie sociale sont des attentes qui caractérisent particulièrement les jeunes.

Les différences observées entre les attentes exprimées tant par les adultes que les jeunes sont en accord avec ce qui est signalé par Brundage et Mackeracher (1980), Cross (1981), Houle (1961), ainsi que par Knowles (1984) par rapport aux caractéristiques particulières à l'adulte et par Knowles (1984) aussi bien que par Solmon et Gordon (1981) en regard du jeune.

Dimension: programme d'études

Les 370 énoncés de cette dimension sont regroupés en 11 catégories qui contiennent 49 sous-catégories dont neuf indiquent des différences entre les deux groupes. Les adultes souhaitent voir des méthodes d'enseignement qui encouragent la participation en classe tout en favorisant l'apprentissage. Aussi, ces sujets veulent éprouver une satisfaction personnelle des évaluations reçues et se motiver par l'ensemble de leurs accomplissements à l'université. En ce qui concerne les jeunes, les résultats montrent que leurs attentes s'expriment dans le désir de recevoir des contenus qui portent sur leur domaine de formation et les font réfléchir, de se voir offrir une variété de méthodes pédagogiques, de pouvoir échanger avec un personnel enseignant qui leur émet une opinion en ce qui a trait à leur progrès en apprentissage et de pouvoir se constituer un dossier universitaire acceptable.

Bien que quelques résultats obtenus sont en accord avec ce qui a été observé par Beer et Darkenwald (1981), Kerwin (1980), Knowles (1984) ainsi que Tracy et Schuttenburg (1986) par rapport à l'adulte et par Knowles (1984), King et Kitchener (1985) et Mayhew (1979) en ce qui concerne le jeune, les données font ressortir des éléments nouveaux. Les auteurs en éducation des adultes ne font pas mention de l'importance qu'attache l'adulte à l'ensemble de ses accomplissements en apprentissage. D'autre part, les écrits par rapport aux jeunes accordent peu d'importance aux attentes des jeunes vis-à-vis les méthodes pédagogiques ainsi que du rôle de l'évaluation dans le processus d'apprentissage.

Dimension: agent d'éducation

Un total de 268 énoncés sont contenus dans cette dimension qui comprend sept catégories et 31 sous-catégories dont neuf présentent des différences entre les adultes et les jeunes. Les adultes s'attendent à ce que le personnel enseignant soit compétent, souhaitent pouvoir consulter une variété de ressources afin de se donner l'occasion d'approfondir leurs connaissances et veulent des occasions où l'échange avec d'autres est possible. Par ailleurs, les jeunes désirent que le personnel enseignant les aident dans l'apprentissage des contenus étudiés, leur enseigne beaucoup de matière et en vérifie la compréhension. Finalement, les ressources en apprentissage qui, selon leurs attentes, seraient les plus bénéfiques, sont l'enseignement offert et les renseignements donnés en classe.

Les résultats obtenus à cette dimension ressortent comme des éléments nouveaux dans ce domaine d'étude de la mixité adultes/jeunes en milieu universitaire.

Au-delà des dimensions

En plus des divergences observées grâce à la classification des données obtenues, l'analyse de contenu permet de constater une autre différence entre les attentes qu'entretiennent les adultes et les jeunes, sous-jacente aux sous-catégories qu'il a été possible de dégager. De l'ensemble des attentes exprimées, une tendance se dégage en ce qui concerne leur nature. L'objet de certaines attentes manifestées ont tendance à émaner de l'intérieur de l'individu, tandis que l'objet des autres a tendance à être provoqué par des stimulations provenant de l'environnement de l'individu. Ce qui permet d'établir qu'il existe deux types d'attentes: celles dont l'objet est de nature interne et celles dont l'objet est de nature externe. En comparant les attentes exprimées par les deux groupes dans les sous-catégories retenues comme importantes et significatives quantitativement, cela permet de constater que les attentes exprimées par les adultes sont plutôt de nature interne alors que celles exprimées par les jeunes sont surtout de nature externe. Cette constatation confirme en quelque sorte un postulat formulé par Knowles (1984) et abondamment repris par les auteurs en éducation des adultes mais peu vérifié jusqu'à ce jour.

Conclusion et implications

L'intérêt particulier de cette recherche porte sur le phénomène de l'adulte étudiant à temps complet en milieu universitaire et mélangé dans des classes avec des jeunes. Afin de délimiter quelque peu la globalité du phénomène, celui-ci est restreint aux attentes par rapport à la situation d'éducation.

Les résultats qui en découlent contribuent à une meilleure compréhension du phénomène. Considérant l'angle sous lequel il a été étudié, la présente étude enrichit la recherche puisque ce domaine avait été peu exploré jusqu'à ce jour.

Les données par rapport aux attentes apportent un appui à certains résultats observés antérieurement en ce qui concerne l'adulte et le jeune. De plus, l'analyse de contenu fait ressortir un certain nombre d'éléments nouveaux que les écrits consultés n'avaient pas révélés. Par ailleurs, les postulats mis de l'avant par Knowles (1984) et abondamment repris en éducation des adultes mais peu vérifiés scientifiquement, recueillent un appui grâce aux résultats de cette étude. De fait, les données qualitatives observées tendent à mettre en évidence les postulats eu égard l'apprentissage chez l'adulte et le jeune.

Certaines implications découlent de cette étude. Les résultats, puisqu'ils établissent de façon exploratoire des similitudes et des distinctions entre les deux types d'apprenants, fournissent des éléments susceptibles d'aider le personnel enseignant dans la planification et l'élaboration de programme aussi bien que dans l'activité quotidienne de l'enseignement.

En outre, les résultats de cette recherche soulèvent d'autres questions que des études ultérieures pourraient explorer. Il y aurait lieu d'enquêter sur l'aspect de la nature des attentes exprimées. Cette question serait-elle liée au développement de l'individu? À l'autonomie? À l'identité?

D'autre part, les attentes formulées par les sujets de la recherche par rapport au personnel enseignant en tant que personne ressource et responsable des méthodes pédagogiques mérite d'être explorées davantage. Il y aurait peut-être lieu de mesurer la correspondance entre la perception qu'entretiennent le corps étudiant, le personnel enseignant et administratif par rapport aux différentes dimensions de la compétence chez le personnel enseignant.

Des réponses à ces questions et bien d'autres contribueraient éventuellement à élucider davantage le phénomène de la mixité adulte/jeune en milieu universitaire.

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ADULT LEARNERS IN LEGAL EDUCATION
POLLY MACFARLANE

This study is a qualitative exploration of the adult learner in legal education. It looks at the characteristics of adults who come to law school, their experience of the process, and their interaction with the learning environment.

Theorists and practitioners working in the field of adult learning and development claim that by understanding our students we can communicate better with them, can create better learning environments, and can promote their learning and development (Cross, 1981; Perry, 1981). They also state that adult learners and other nontraditional students will be a major source of pressure for change.

Adult learners in higher education have been studied in terms of their characteristics and the advantages and disadvantages of returning to school after a break in formal education. Much attention in the past has been focused on how adults prefer to learn but more recently there has been interest in theories of adult development and in the relationship between level of development and life phase and such things as the students' motives for education and their needs in a learning setting. Development through the lifespan has been viewed both as age-related changes and crises (Levinson, 1978; Sheehy, 1976) as well as in terms of changes in the way that a person views the world and makes meaning of experience (Gilligan, 1982; Kegan, 1982; Perry, 1981).

Most of the attempts to see how adult development theory intersects with higher education have involved a traditional college age population where the focus has been on the issues faced by young adults and on the development these students might be expected to exhibit during the college years. Developmental theorists have found, however, that when people return to education at different times in their lives they do so for different reasons depending in part on their developmental stage (Chickering, 1979; Daloz, 1986; Weathersby, 1981). Being at a particular developmental level also has implications for how the person perceives and makes meaning of the situation, for the learner's needs and preferences regarding elements of the learning environment, and for how the learner acts, reacts, and interacts in the setting.

Foot (1989) has studied the changing demographics of the Canadian population and labour market trends and has made predictions about educational enrolment in the 90's. If his predictions are accurate, more people will be making career shifts in the next decade and hence the existing trend toward an older population in higher education is likely to continue. Just as undergraduate university programmes are admitting more adults, so too are professional programmes. Many law schools, for example, now have special status admissions to accommodate students who do not have the usual academic prerequisites. Older students are also competing with younger students for regular admission to legal education programmes. Assuming that professional schools continue to admit older students there will soon be a significant group of adult learners in these programmes.

The traditional approach to legal education is at odds with what the literature on andragogy and adult development says adults want in a learning setting. Legal education has tended to see the teacher as expert, the atmosphere has been competitive and formal and the design has been based on the transmission of knowledge. Andragogy, on the other hand, assumes that the learner brings valuable experience to the learning situation, values cooperation, and allows for an experiential design in the learning process. Students who have been through the legal education system have written their 'memoirs' telling of the anxiety, pain, and stress experienced in law school and being highly critical of many aspects of the system such as the competition and the evaluation system (Turow, 1977, Wilkins, 1987). Others involved in education support the claims of the students and note both the negative effects on the students while they are in the law school and those that are of a more permanent nature - ones that reflect changes in the students' personality or character (Willging and Dunn, 1981; Elkins, 1988). Many of the critics of legal education point to the tendency to alienate the students and to fail to take them into consideration as people.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand better the phenomenon of the adult learner in law school and to explore the nature of the interaction of adults with the legal education learning environment. It was hoped that the information gathered about this group of law students would contribute to the willingness and ability of legal educators to provide a better learning and growth environment, and would add to our knowledge about the development of adults who enrol in higher education. (An adult student is defined here as a student who was at least 25 years old upon entry to the law programme). The study addressed the following questions:

1. Who are the adult learners who come to law school? What are their characteristics as learners? What attitudes, behaviour, experience, skills do they bring to the law school?
2. What factors are involved in their decision to come to law school? What is the appeal of law? (content) What is the process involved in the decision?
3. What is the experience of adult learners in law school? What is the nature of the interaction between adult learners and the legal education environment?

Research Approach

Perry (1970) emphasized the relevance and importance of hearing the students' perception of their learning situation if we are to understand what meaning they are making of the education they are receiving and if we want to facilitate their learning and growth. Elkins (1983) pointed out that although social scientists have tried to understand the experience of students, they have usually failed to do so adequately, in part because they have not listened to the students. Elkins saw this as particularly relevant for law students because their experience is often so painful and profound. He says that the "underlying transformation" and the meaning of the experience are missed when outcomes are objectified as is often the case in research. Adult development theories assume that people are constantly making meaning and constructing reality as they interact with the world around them. In the current study the perceptions of the people being studied were of particular relevance as their expectations and perceptions of a learning setting may be presumed to affect how and what they learn and how they feel about the experience. A qualitative research approach was chosen for this study because it provided a means of listening to the students and of discovering their reality. I interviewed thirteen adult students who were in the programme, two traditional age students and three professors; and I surveyed (written) twenty incoming adult students.

Findings and Discussion

Although many issues specifically related to law and legal education arose during the study, the focus of this discussion will be on the characteristics of the adult learners and their experience of, and interaction with, the learning environment.

characteristics The adult learners in this study came from a wide variety of academic, work, and personal backgrounds although most were white and middle class as has been the case for law students traditionally. They exhibited the characteristics of advanced stages of development as summarized across theories by Chickering (1979) and, more specifically, as presented in the models of Kegan (1982) and Perry (1981). They had motivations and expectations that are congruent with high levels of development in these theories and that are similar to those expressed by other adult learners in higher education. They brought with them a strong sense of self, responsibility, care, and internal locus of control. They valued people and collaboration and they were able to maintain balance and perspective in their lives. Although they represented different life phases and developmental stages which influenced how they experienced and made meaning of legal education, it was clear that they could not be slotted easily into categories; phase, stage, individual characteristics, and context were all interacting. The adults were, however, different from the traditional age students described in the literature as to their characteristics and their response to law school (Elkins, 1985, 1988; Willging and Dunn, 1981) and from many adult learners who attend undergraduate programmes in higher education with respect to some aspect sof the decision-making process and the expression of motivation for education (Cleave-Hogg, 1985).

The decision to enter the law programme came about in a variety of ways ranging from the realization of a long time interest in law to a last minute, "on a whim" choice. Their motives for coming to law school could be linked to their life phase and developmental stage: some had recently undergone changes in their lives and many had a strong feeling that "the time was right". As they prepared to enter the programme they had hopes and fears about becoming a student. The former outweighed the latter but for some it was a matter of necessity and for others an exciting opportunity for self-development and satisfaction. The decision had been made 'with doubt'; that is, they had thought about it, questioned it, and had made a choice with the knowledge of other possibilities and from a position of self-awareness. They also saw the study and practice of law and the legal/justice system in ways that were congruent with higher stages of development; law was seen as interdisciplinary, client-centred, a vehicle for change and for taking care of oneself and others. While making the decision to apply to law as well as throughout the programme, the adult students were trying to identify ways of being in the profession that would feel comfortable and would provide satisfaction.

experience of and interaction with the learning environment

The adults' level of development helped them to adapt and survive in the law school and allowed them to successfully resist some of the socialization and other influences that they perceived as negative. Instead of feeling taken over by the law school, many responded with a sense of control and positive feeling about themselves. They did not seem to experience the same kind of negative feelings described in the literature as occurring to law students; most did not feel the alienation or the questioning of self. They did, however, find themselves to be in conflict with some aspects of legal education (especially the evaluation system) and of the adversarial model (competition, hierarchy, justice). Many of the adult students changed developmentally during their time in the law school. Some felt that they had developed self-esteem and had gained confidence and a sense of direction. Despite this, the adults felt a sense of control over their environment; all of the groups interviewed (the adults, the traditionals and the professors) agreed that the Dalhousie Law School was being affected by their presence. Their presence was seen as providing both a challenge and a support to other students and to the faculty. It changed the climate and dynamics of the classroom by adding diversity and experience and by making the discussion more open and more personal. The adults questioned authority and they challenged some of the long-held traditions and beliefs of legal education and the legal system. They helped create a place where students could ask questions, risk, be vulnerable and both learn from others and collaborate with others. They brought about more of a tendency toward andragogy and to Kidd's (date unknown) 3 R's (relatedness, relevancy and responsibility). They were helping to create the type of developmentally advanced learning environment that shold allow students not only to feel comfortable and able to risk but also to grow and develop.

Summary and conclusions

As learners, the adult law students in this study brought with them diversity of experience and a perspective on learning and education that was derived from life experience and was a function of developmental level. Their experience of legal education ranged from somewhat negative to extremely positive but most felt a greater sense of control and of having grown from the experience than is often the case for traditional students. In addition, they were perceived as contributing a great deal to the law school.

There are implications of the study for legal education and for other professional programmes with respect to changes that take place as a result of the need to accommodate adult learners and those changes that occur as a result of the very presence of adults. If such programmes genuinely want to attract and to keep adult learners and other nontraditional students it is important for the schools to value and take care of them. The schools must provide the administrative structures that allow access and success in the programme. There are already some changes taking place; some law schools now have part-time studies and the evaluation process is gradually changing to allow students with different strengths to demonstrate their knowledge and skills. More is needed, however, if the learning environment is to be a place where all students are able to grow and develop while in the programme. Theorists say that a learning environment should be both supportive and challenging and that educators should provide care, community and an opportunity to share vulnerabilities. Singer (1982) adds that the socialization process involved in professional education affects students profoundly and that the process takes place in the context of their development and their experience of self as they begin to encounter and try out various roles involved in being both a student and a "fledgling member of the field". He contends that the task of professional education is "preparation for effective role functioning" and that consequently it involves not only teaching knowledge and skills but "working with students so that they become aware of the different ways in which they can take up the profession" (p. 47). Adults may question, however, just what "role functioning" is and may have some concerns about the traditional roles of lawyers. They need to find their own place in the system and to refine their Commitments (Perry, 1981). It is important, therefore, to provide opportunities for them to discuss such things as: possible roles for lawyers and others with law degrees, ethics, and potential conflicts of one's own values with those of the client and the law society.

Adults may be more likely than traditional age students to value the care and community and may be more willing to openly explore and discuss how they see themselves in relation to the law. They have shown themselves to be willing and able to question the system and are a valuable resource in the classroom and the school. For these reasons (and because they are an incredibly fascinating group of individuals), I would argue that all the participants in legal education (students, professors, and administrators) benefit from the presence of adult learners and from a perspective on education that is based on adult learning and development theory and practice.

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THE NEW KIDS ON THE BLOCK: EXPLORING FIRST-TIME ATTENDERS CONFERENCE EXPERIENCES AT CASAE 1991

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Abstract: The features of the 1991 CASAE conference that attracted the attention of first-time conference attenders are presented and include: the self; the people; the atmosphere; the field of adult education; and the association.

Résumé: Les particularités de la conférence CASAE de 1991 qui attirèrent le plus d'attention de la part de ceux qui y assistèrent pour la première fois sont présentés et incluent: le soi, les gens, l'ambiance, le domaine de l'éducation adulte et l'association.

Introduction

The new kids on the block have arrived! They come to the conference every year and are defined as first-time attenders. These "*new kids*" will leave the conference each year with many perceptions and impressions. What is their experience? What do they think, if anything, about the conference, the people, the association?

The purpose of this paper is to report some of the findings of a research project that was designed to capture the perceptions and impressions of the first-time attenders at the 1991 CASAE Annual Conference. The question that guided the research was "*What are the characteristics of the experience of being a first-time attender at a CASAE conference?*" The features of the conference that captured the attention of the "*new kids*" are outlined and described.

The reasons for undertaking this study were both personal and practical. On a personal level, I was a first-time attender at the 1991 meeting in Kingston. I left the conference with a variety of memories, questions, concerns, and feelings of contradiction and ambiguity. This project has helped me to make sense of my experience and I hope it has helped others make sense of theirs. From a practical view, I was aware that CASAE had just passed its 10th anniversary and that considerable efforts were taking place to understand where the association has come from and where the future path will lead. In the spirit of contributing to that dialogue, I believed that the experience of first-time attenders could be an important resource for furthering our understanding of the association and ourselves as adult educators. In addition, I felt that this study could further inform the association about the needs, wants, and interests of conference attenders.

Method

A qualitative approach was chosen to provide an understanding of first-time attenders' experiences. Because the purpose of the study was both explorative and descriptive, a case study research framework was used. Participants were selected for inclusion in the study through peer referral. Nine informants participated in the study during the three week period following the 1991 CASAE conference. Six individuals were interviewed by telephone, and three were interviewed in person. The interviews were open-ended and minimally structured. My goal was to have a reflective conversation in which perceptions and experiences could be exchanged. Each interview was transcribed and field notes were compiled. The data were coded using an organization system inferred directly from the data.

Findings

The research suggests that the experience of attending the CASAE conference has many components. Only one part of the experience of being a first-time conference attender is presented in this paper because of the need for brevity. The reported aspect is features of the conference which attracted the attention of first-time attenders. What first-time conference attenders pay attention to varies significantly; each person's experience is unique.

The nine study informants included three full-time adult education practitioners and six students of adult education, three part-time and three full-time. Five of the informants are women and four are men. All of them were at their first CASAE conference and five presented papers.

The analysis revealed five major features of interest: the self; the people; the atmosphere; the field of adult education; and the association. The perceptions and observations between categories are linked to the extent that they represent the interests of the study informants. Further data analysis is needed to explore relationships between these categories.

Self This category represents the first-time attenders experience associated with an inward look at themselves. A key feature expressed by most study informants was the extent to which they felt a part of, or identified with, the conference and adult education in general. Initial feelings of being *"on the outside"* were reported by six informants as a result of a number of different factors including: perception of a professional separation between faculty and students; initial difficulties finding directions in Kingston; and a lack of identification with others. By the end of the conference, all first-time attenders expressed varying degrees of *"fitting in"*. One person said: *"I felt really comfortable there. This is something that I wouldn't mind being a part of over the years."* Another remarked that he *"felt at home because the presentations reflected a wide variety of topic and interests."* Two participants expressed mixed feelings around *"fitting in"*. For one, feelings of belonging came from informal discussions with others in which her experience with thesis challenges were validated. At the same time, she didn't really see a place for her in the academic world of adult education. She said: *"I think I feel kind of worried about where I could fit in. I didn't really have a sense that there is a place for me."* The other informant with mixed feelings reflected on the philosophical and methodological differences between his work and most others. At the same time, he thought he would like to attend another conference. One practitioner left the conference with some serious questions for herself. She stated:

> *I didn't see evidence of the kind of thing that we teach and we talk about re: structures and ways of engaging learners and I didn't see that happening in terms of how the whole thing was set up. So that made me start to question whether I even belong in this organization, whether I have any part in it. Am I really that far out in left field compared to everyone else?*

A second key feature related to the self is the varying levels of anxiety reported among the five presenters. One presenter said that she was *"feeling pretty antsy about it"* and that presenting the paper was always in the back of her mind. Another felt uncomfortable with her topic because she saw it as only being marginally related to adult education. Another reported feeling some shyness with respect to presenting his ideas.

People This category represents the first-time attenders' observations of people as both individuals and researchers. CASAE conference attenders were described by all except one as warm, open, friendly, and accessible. One informant captured the flavor of these comments as follows: *"Interesting, pleasant, good hearted, bright people who want to understand things better."* Another said: *"People are open and friendly"*. As researchers, people were described as committed, curious, and varied in their interests.

The structures used by presenters during conference sessions captured the attention of most of the informants. Two of the first-time conference attenders who were presenting were influenced by the presentation styles in other presentations. One reported: *"I had not planned to use my written paper and all of a sudden, I was saying is this the sort of unwritten norm at CASAE. Have I misunderstood something in terms of what was expected of me as a presenter?"* The other commented: *"After going to some of the other sessions, it just seemed to be present your paper with some added detail that isn't in the paper itself and have questions afterwards. So that is what I did. I sort of chickened out of doing anything else."* The other presenters described arriving at the conference with a firm plan of how their presentation would be structured. One of this group said: *"You get points for not how much people have learned, but, through how many times you teach, I think that is played out at the CASAE conference."*

Those who did not present were affected by the structures of presentations. One participant expressed being quite disturbed for a period of time by the structures chosen. She said:

> *It was such a traditional model that it just kind of blew me away that in a field that has so much potential and for me there is so much energy and excitement in being an adult educator in the 90's and the possibilities. I was just amazed, pardon the word, male model of the*

> *expert and ignorant masses and the one way communication that goes with that. It is a hierarchial model at most of the sessions with some invitation to discuss towards the end.*

Another's reaction reflected more of a curiosity about the structures chosen. He stated: *"I assumed there would be a little bit more adult education, what I come to know as adult education technique in the actual presentation of the papers."* He went on to comment: *"There was a lack of congruence between what they hoped to achieve in society or their particular cause or area of concern and that in which the approach they used for their presentations."*

Other single observations reported that relate to the people include:

> *Adult educators have an earnestness about them, sometimes too much maybe.*
>
> *One impression, everyone seems to know what is going on. There seems to be this sense that they have got a handle on things.*
>
> *The CASAE group, we are passionate people about our work as adult educators, but we also want to understand more clearly the theoretical conceptual problems and push back in that area too because we are excited about learning more about adult learning.*
>
> *There weren't many black people, there weren't many of anybody except for white people, so....*

Atmosphere Overall, most informants experienced a positive atmosphere at the conference which was described as friendly, comfortable, interesting, and pleasant. Several comments related to the location and physical facilities. For some, the physical characteristics of the location provided a retreat like atmosphere.

The atmosphere of the presentations attracted the attention of most first-time attenders. The following impressions reflect the diverse observations:

> *And in many ways there is that tension between trying to impress, trying to clarify, and also trying to learn and they are not necessarily the same thing or help other people to learn and I think there was that tension in the presentations.*
>
> *It's a different atmosphere because you have the people who have the training and the tools and they know where to go next with thinking things through and figuring out themes and that kind of stuff.*
>
> *Crawling into each room is like entering a new space and you kind of*

> *have a sense of what kinds of questions are going to be asked during the question period and part of you goes into automatic pilot but that is true for me for most conferences.*

A social class dimension of atmosphere was captured in the following comment:

> *Most of the people in attendance were in privileged positions within institutions, so there was a little tensions around that.*

A few participants commented on the informality of the presentations. For one person, this referred to the variability surrounding starting times of the sessions and the quality of the discussion. For two others, comments were made around feeling awkward as presenters were expected to both moderate and conduct their presentation.

Field Perceptions related to the field of adult education were made by most first-time attenders. These observations related to the diversity of the field (*"a giant smorgashboard"*; *"it is amorphous"*) of adult education which was evidenced by the diversity of conference presentations and the characteristics of informal conversations. One participant reflected:

> *That conversation, other conversations, some of the history discussions about adult education which were in the air and some of the actual presentations plus the spartan retreat like surroundings, now that I think about it, gave me a sense of adult education as an academic study, it is also a field of practice, it is also a thrust in the world for the good.*

One participant noted a split in the field from the characteristics of the presentations. She said:

> *I have a real definite sense that there is very much of a split in the field and it was kind of expressed by one presenter after a session. There were a few of us sitting around and talking and I thought this sums up my perception exactly. There were two conferences going on here, there was one that was very much focused on kind of social action and community responsibility and there was another whole focus on kind of the cost recovery, the profit margin, and the entrepreneurial approach.....*

Association All first-time attenders reported impressions of CASAE as an association. The most common perception in this area related to the tension between an emphasis on theory versus practice reflected by the association and the content of the conference.

> *I guess the fact that they decided to go with an academic slant to CASAE reflects where we are as adult educators in this country right now and that we have sort of a rift between the theoreticians and the practitioners.*

> *I was surprised at the emphasis on the abstract conceptualizer.*
>
> *I would like to see them promoting more research in the field rather than the academic side.*
>
> *If CASAE is going to attract practitioners, it has to incorporate a practical perspective.*

On a positive note, one participant commented on the efforts of CASAE to understand its history.

> *An organization has its own history, it has its own culture, its own rhythm and all those kind of things, and it own history of how things get decided. And to have people that don't know that history or have a sense of what that might be, can make it very difficult unless there can be the exchange between generations. And I think they really made some attempts to do that. I found that really fascinating. It is an attempt to be a mainstream organization.*

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that first-time attenders have a variety of perceptions and impressions and that perceptions of the association are largely overshadowed by observations of others and concerns with respect to the self. Many of the first-time attenders concerned themselves with the extent to which they fit in to the field of adult education and the conference itself. For presenters, concerns around how to present were also prevalent.

The association itself does not capture a lot of attention. As one woman commented: "*What stands out is that I don't have that many perceptions or impressions of the organization, so that's why other things stood out for me because I still don't have that much of a sense of what the organization is.*" Initially, this result seems surprising; however, the issues around the self and others appear to take precedence over the impact of the association. Overall, the fact that individuals share a common context for a few days does not seem to be as important as the individual interests and goals of the first-time attenders.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CONTINUING COMPETENCE AMONG MALE MEMBERS OF SELECTED PROFESSIONS

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A.E.C.L. RESEARCH

Abstract

This study elicited responses from fifty-nine subjects representing engineering, pharmacy and medicine on their perception and assessment of continuing competence. The findings revealed a wide variation of how professionals perceived their continuing competence and the means they adopted to keep current. The implications of the study are significant for adult education practice and theory building.

L'objet de l'etude etait d'obtenir, de la part de cinquante-neuf personnes representant les domaines du genie, de la pharmacologie et de la medecine, des commentaires sur la facon dont elles percoivent et evaluent le perfectionnement des competences. Les resultats on revele que ces professionnels ont une opinion tres variee sur cette forme de perfectionnement et sur les moyens leur permettant de se tenir au courant. Les resultats de l'etude sont importants en ce qui concerne l'enseigement theorique et pratique aux adultes.

A comparative study was conducted on the perceptions of continuing competence among selected professions. Perceptions and assessments of continuing competence were elicited from 59 subjects, and the role of keeping current in the overall quality and service to clients was explored. The study was more an exploration than a testing of hypotheses.

In many jurisdictions in the U.S.A., mandatory continuing education especially in the health professions, has become the norm. However, after more than twenty years of experience with mandatory continuing education, many authorities in the health field have begun to question the value of the mandatory "prescription" to cure the "ailment of incompetence" (Dunn and Hamilton, 1985).

The value of continuing professional education as a means of ensuring professionals' competence, performance or client service has been questioned by many researchers, including Baskett (1984), Houle (1981), and Kidd (1977), among others. In his paper "Towards Alternate Models in Continuing Professional Education Research," Baskett stated:

> To date, little consensus has been reached, based on impact studies, about the effectiveness of continuing professional education (C.P.E.).

> One has a choice of faulting the C.P.E. interventions themselves, the method of assessing impact, or both. Whatever the conclusion, those involved in the delivery of C.P.E. are left in the awkward position of not knowing which (if any) C.P.E. activities do, and which do not, have an impact on professional performance, and what the critical differences are (pp. 1-2).

In their national survey of adult learners in the U.S.A., Johnstone and Rivera (1965) discovered that "the incidence of self education was greater than originally anticipated," and concluded that: "it is probably the most overlooked avenue of activity in the whole field of adult education." (cited by Cross 1981, p.63).

Many researchers, encouraged by Johnstone and Riveras' findings, attempted to address this shortcoming through additional research. In Canada, Tough, a pioneering researcher in self-directed learning (SDL) introduced the concept of the "learning project" as a series of related episodes adding up to at least seven hours. A number of researchers followed Tough's approach to quantify the extent of SDL by using the learning project approach. These studies included McCatty (1973), Coolican (1974), Johns (1973), Rymell (1981) and Hummel (1985), and are of special relevance to this study. The research by McCatty (1973) is the closest to the present research since it is based on interviews of 54 male professionals in Toronto. McCatty's findings indicated a preference for two methods of learning: the learner planned category, and learning by discussion (McCatty 1973, p.108)

This study sought subjects' responses to six questions:

1. How do you perceive continuing competence as it relates to someone in your profession?
2. What criteria or measure did you use to assess continuing competence?
3. In your efforts to keep current, what were the various means and strategies you selected to achieve this goal?
4. To what extent has self-directed learning contributed to keeping you current in your field of practice?
5. How much time did you spend per week, during the last 12 months on various activities or tasks you perceive to have contributed to improving your skill or performance, upgrading your knowledge or helping you keep current?
6. Looking over the last 12 months, which was (were) the most beneficial or rewarding learning experience(s) and what accounts for it (them)?

In the past, adult education studies generally have examined adults from all walks of life and all age groups as if adults are a homogeneous group. Only a small number of researchers have looked at professionals from a particular profession or professions as a coherent and separate group (Johns (1973), McCatty (1973), Fales (1975), Rymell (1981), Hummel (1985), and Richards (1986)). The current study marks the first time that a researcher has conducted a probing interview with a good sized sample of defined age groups/experience levels representing three professions as a distinct group of learners.

The population for this study, was selected from active practitioners in Toronto. Fifty-nine male subjects were interviewed from an initial contact of 78 practitioners representing all age groups from 25 to 65 years old. The selection of males only, was due to the limited number of female practitioners in these professions and the desire to eliminate gender as an additional variable. The interview schedule was a modified version of McCatty (1973) and modelled after Tough (1971).

THE FINDINGS:

Space limitations forced the author to provide a summary of two of the research questions only. Question 1 and Question 6 were arbitrarily selected.

Question 1: Professionals Perception of Continuing Competence

Responses varied from articulate and precise, to vague. Respondents seemed to identify with the mission of their profession and their stage in their career ladder. Engineers seem to move quickly to supervisory positions and soon feel inadequacy in administration, management and finance, for which they were not adequately educated.

Many engineers naturally move to upgrade their business/administrative knowledge. For most of them, competence is perceived as either technical or managerial, and one can rarely be competent in both areas of expertise simultaneously. This perception is frequently identified in the subjects direct quotes (Matthias 1991). For the ones who continued to perform largely technical tasks, such as Senior Researcher, Director of Engineering, etc., competence continued to be technically related and was expressed by acquiring new knowledge in their particular field of specialty.

Pharmacists' responses suggest they are uncertain about the role of their profession; they do not diagnose illnesses, and they don't prescribe but only dispense prescriptions. They stand between the physician and the patient. Despite their pharmaceutical training and knowledge, they feel that their job focuses on the business aspects of the pharmacy, of which dispensing is but a small part. They feel that they are essentially "shopkeepers."

For pharmacists who are employees of a store, knowledge of drugs, client counselling, and communication are considered important parts of their role, while for franchisee pharmacists or owners/managers, the business aspects (their dollar volume, and number of prescriptions per year) are their major focus.

For physicians, continuing competence is seen as ongoing knowledge, practice satisfactory to colleagues and superiors, continuing feedback, and learning from peers and patients. Physicians have a clearer understanding and better ability to express themselves in a precise and more articulate way. This seems to stem from the nature of their jobs and the pressure exerted on them by peer-interaction, their hospital rounds, and continuing feedback from patients, among others.

On the relationship of age versus continuing competence, among engineers, subjects in age group A (25 - 34) stated that competence is "situational," (i.e. technical or managerial), and that it is not possible to be competent in both fields simultaneously. The other age groups of B (35 - 44), C (45-54) and D (55-65), in which most of the subjects had moved to managerial and supervisory postions, stated that competence depended more on practice-related criteria than pure knowledge acquisition. Examples of competency are completion of projects on time and within budget, and administrative/managerial skill.

The relationship between age and continuing competence among pharmacists suggests it is more related to employment status (i.e., employee pharmacist or franchisee/manager) than age.

The responses from physicians represent a fairly homogeneous group where most of the statements about competence (regardless of age or specialization) center around knowledge, practice satisfactory to peers and superiors, and learning from patients and colleagues.

Question 6:Professionals' Rewarding Learning Experiences Over the Previous Twelve Months (1987)

In responding to this question, the subjects stated a wide array of learning experiences. The most noticeable observations are:

1. The variety of what is perceived by the learner as a rewarding experience, not only within each profession, but also within each age group in each of the professions.
2. Even the physicians, who had very similar responses to questions 1 through 5, exhibited a pattern similar to the other two professions in its diversity.
3. While the individual learning experiences were numerous, what accounted for them could be grouped under a much smaller number of categories or clusters that identified the uniqueness of the learning experiences. The following categories summarize the subjects' responses as to why they found the learning experiences to be rewarding:
    - learning and knowledge acquisition,
    - application of the learning and knowledge,
    - contribution to the body of knowledge,
    - peer interaction and information exchange,
    - feed-back from patients,
    - patient counselling,
    - reflection, and
    - recognition by peers

The respondents feel that the professional is more in charge than many in the adult community in the pursuit of his or her continuing competence, as illustrated by the rewarding experiences they reported. Apparently, the more of a self-directed learner the professional becomes, the more he or she becomes the architect and designer of the learning goals and needs required to address the workplace demands. Whether the professional will or will not participate in further learning will be determined by the availability and diffusion of new knowledge and technology, the interpretation and perception of the workplace environment, past learning experience and feed-back from peers, superiors and employers. (Matthias,1991, pp.130-1)

CONCLUSIONS

1. Professionals vary in their perceptions and in their means of assessing their continuing competence. However, the responses show the large extent to which the workplace figures in the minds of all the subjects.
2. The above remark applies also to the subjects' responses to the question on "the rewarding learning experiences." Most subjects referred to practice-related, workplace-related learning experiences. This confirms other studies by Margulies and Raia (1967) and cited by Houle (1981 p.107)
3. No meaningful relationship was seen to exist between the subjects' age and the perception, assessment of continuing competence, the rewarding learning experience or the means adopted by the subjects to maintain their currency.
4. The weighted average of the time spent by the subjects on learning effort was 8.2 hours per week. This is equivalent to about 410 hours per year, or more than ten half courses. This confirms the findings of other researchers like McCatty (1973), Johns (1973), Rymell (1981), Hummel (1985) and Richards (1986).
5. The strategies adopted by the subjects to keep current varied more by the professionals' stage in the career ladder than by age. However, reading, interacting with peers, attending hospital rounds, conferences, seminars, workshops, and equipment manufacturers' shows were the highest recorded means. There was no evidence to suggest a relationship between age and the preferred means to keep current.
6. The extent to which SDL contributed to continuing competence and the time spent on learning effort suggest a common conclusion. The more seasoned the professional becomes, the more he or she takes part in SDL, and correspondingly the higher the percentage of SDL's contribution to continuing competence. The highest number of hours spent by the physicians per week was 12.8; for 100% of them this contributed 50% or more to their continuing competence. Among the pharmacists, who averaged 3.3 hours per week, only 35% indicated a contribution of 50% or more to their continuing competence, while for the engineers with an average of 7 hours per week of SDL effort, this contibuted to 50% or more to their continuing competence by 65% of the subjects.
7. The rewarding learning experiences and what accounted for them showed the large role the workplace played in continuing learning among the entire sample.

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State sponsored Adult Literacy Programmes in Malta - a critical review

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Abstract

In this paper, I focus on state sponsored adult literacy education, in Malta, this century. The first section of the paper will deal with the pre- and post -World War ll adult literacy efforts. The second section will consist of an analytic review of the current adult literacy campaign launched by Malta's Education Department in January, 1990.

Résumé

Cette dissertation est focalisée sur l'enseignement d'alphabétisation des adultes a` Malte subventionné par le gouvernement, dupuis le début du siécle. La première partie de cet article traite de l'effort d' alphabétisation des adultes avant puis après la seconde guerre mondiale. La deuxième partie est une revue analytique de la campagne actuelle d'alphabétisation des adultes lancée par le départiment de l'education de Malte en janvier 1990.

Introduction[1]

During the last three years, I organised, in my capacity as adult education officer in Malta's Education Department, two seminars in connection with the network of adult education agencies in Malta[2] . What I consider to have been remarkable about these two seminars, attended by spokespersons for several Maltese adult education agencies, is the variety of representation which, in turn, reflects the variety of adult education provision in the country[3] . Both seminars served to drive home the point that there is a great commitment to adult education in Malta, as indicated by the *Directory of Adult Education Agencies in Malta* .[4] Recent research[5] also indicates that there have been noteworthy adult education initiatives in Malta throughout the century. The increase in provision has been substantial over the last decade or so, as a result of the ever growing interest in the field. This interest may be evidenced from the prominence accorded to adult education in the electoral manifestos of the two main political parties[6] as well as, for instance, the Memorandum submitted by the main teachers' union (the Malta Union of Teachers) to the four political parties which contested the 1987 General Elections.

The foregoing indicates that there exists enough material for a critical review of adult education provision in Malta. Due to limited space, I shall have to confine myself to an analysis of just one aspect of adult education provision - state sponsored adult literacy. I have chosen this particular aspect for two reasons. In the first place, state sponsored adult literacy education has a long history in Malta and,therefore, is vast enough as an area of enquiry to warrant a study on its own. Secondly, this is the area wherein I have carried out a substantial part of my adult education work within the Education Department.

Earlier Adult Literacy Efforts

Adult literacy education was accorded great prominence in state sponsored adult education provision, this century. Because of the high rates of illiteracy which persisted until well after World War ll - the illiteracy rate officially stood at 33% in 1948[7] - it is hardly surprising that this particular area of adult education was accorded prominence during the first part of the century. This century also witnessed two literacy campaigns, the one carried out between 1947 - 72 and the ongoing programme which commenced in 1990.

Literacy is very much tied to the concept of citizenship since it is regarded as central to a person's ability to exercise and make full use of citizenship rights. A question which arises in this context is: according to whose terms is citizenship defined? In Malta, the struggle over these terms was reflected in the struggle over language. On the one hand, the dominant forces in Maltese society, namely the Church, professionals and local elites, spoke and promoted the Italian language, knowledge of which constituted a form of *cultural capital*. They presented their interests, in this regard, as the interests of Maltese society at large, therefore engaging in a totalising discourse. On the other, Malta's British colonial rulers sought to supplant Italian by promoting the English Language on a wide scale, as part of their anglicisation project[8]. I would argue that early literacy programmes in Malta reflected a struggle over the terms in which citizenship was to be defined. Italian made its presence felt. The early adult education schools were referred to as 'Scuole Serali'. The Italian language was taught alongside English at these schools[9], thus reflecting the interests of the contending forces for dominance in Maltese society. As expected, however, there was a deliberate attempt by the British colonial authorities to accord English prominence, to make it widespread and, in so doing, to render it the dominant language. Henry Frendo[10] refers to the British Governor's exhortation, in 1883, to "see that boys and girls are taught Maltese and English. And in twenty years there won't be a chance for the propagation of Italianist ideas...". The English language played a central role in the imposition of the British colonial power's state form on that of its colonised countries[11] . This was, of course, manifest in the sphere of adult education. Joseph Vancell , for instance, indicates that it is possible that Lord Keenan, a public commissioner who drew up an important report on education in Malta, recommended that the Government should withold funding to the *Sunday Schools,* adult education centres operating during the period, because no English was taught at these centres[12] .

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[1] I should like to express my gratitude to my friends, Carmel Borg and Marisa Farrugia, the former for commenting on an earlier draft of the paper and the latter for translating the Abstract into French.

[2] Malta is the largest and most substantially inhabited island in an archipelago which includes Gozo and Comino. These islands constitute one nation state, referred to as Malta. The population throughout the archipelago is approximately a third of a million and the surface area is 316 square kilometres. These islands are situated right in the centre of the Mediterranean, between Sicily (sixty miles away) and North Africa. They have recently emerged from a long history of colonisation (independence, 1964; withdrawal of British armed forces, 1979).

[3] One of the big lacunae in the two seminars was the lack of Gozitan representation.

[4] Mayo, P. (ed.), *Directory of Adult Education Agencies in Malta*, Education Department, Malta, 1990.

[5] Vancell, J., *Adult Literacy Education in the Maltese Context*, unpublished B.Ed. (Hons.) dissertation, University of Malta, 1991; Wain, K., Mayo, P., ' Adult Education in Malta' in *Handbook of European Adult Education and Training*, Jarvis, P. et al. (eds.), Pergamon, 1992 (forthcoming).

[6] Cf. Nationalist Party's 1992 Electoral Manifesto, section 5 ; the Malta Labour Party's 1992 Electoral Manifesto as reproduced in the *Times of Malta*, January 31, 1992, p. 8 ; 'MUT Memorandum to Political Parties' in *The Teacher* (Malta), December, 1986, p.vii.

[7] Vancell, J. ' Malta Adult Literacy Programme, 1946 -1972' (interview with Paul Bugeja), in *The Teacher* (Malta), November, 1990.

The English state form gradually permeated several spheres of Maltese life, most notably the country's educational policy, and the effects of such colonial encroachment are still being felt , in Malta, today, that is to say, twenty eight years after independence. The post war adult literacy campaign centred mainly around the teaching of 'Basic English', with Maltese, the popular native language which was traditionally regarded as *il volgare*, or 'the kitchen language', being introduced only to play a subsidiary role . In an interview with me, Paul Bugeja, the Programme Coordinator, who had served, in the British Army, as adult educator among prisoners of war, stated that teachers were provided with preparation and textbooks in Basic English. He admitted, however, that they were not provided with any texts and preparation with respect to their teaching of the Maltese language[13] . It can be argued that it is partly through the propagation of English in all spheres, especially through its all pervasive use in our schools and institutions of higher learning, that the English State regulated what constituted good citizenship within our shores, in keeping with what has been regarded as its "civilising mission". [14] One may argue that the system of 'delegated instruction', through which adult educators were exposed to lessons in the English Language, which they, in turn, delivered to students at the various centres, ensured a 'top - down' transmission style that was in keeping with the prescriptive mode of communication favoured by the country's colonisers. One should state, in all fairness, that prescription has persisted, as a characteristic of Maltese education, till the present day.

The post World War ll adult literacy campaign served other purposes, notably economic ones. The British colonial phase in Malta was characterised by the gradual dismantling of the islands' indigenous manufacturing industry and the development of what is referred to as the *fortress economy*, "an economic structure geared exclusively to the maintenance and furbishing of the foreign military/naval garrison" [15] . In short, the Maltese labour force was developed in such a way as to serve Britain's strategic military interests in the Mediterranean. Total dependence on Britain's war efforts led to an alternating pattern of "affluence and poverty" for the Maltese labour force[16] . The Napoleonic wars, the Crimean War, the First World War, the Fascist threat and the Second World War meant "relatively full employment".[17] Periods of peace meant unemployment for the Maltese population. The relative insecurity of the Maltese labour force, caused by such fluctuations in employment opportunities, led to mass waves of emigration by Maltese people to such places as Australia, Canada, the U.S. and Britain. Maltese governments between 1948 and 1955 (Malta was granted self-government in 1921) had set an annual target of 10,000 emigrants.[18] Basic English was regarded as a useful asset for prospective emigrants with whose interests the post war adult literacy effort has traditionally been associated. In Paul Bugeja's words: "..the emphasis was on Basic English. If this was not taught I doubt whether the adult education programme would have received government funding with prospective emigrants in mind".[19]

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[8] Zammit, E. L., *A Colonial Inheritance*, Malta University Press, Malta, 1984, p. 13.

[9] Vancell, J, op.cit., 1991, p. 33.

[10] Frendo, H., *Party Politics in a Fortess Colony: The Malta Experience*, Midsea Books Ltd., Malta, 1979, p.32. My attention to this point has been drawn by Sultana, R.G., 'The Challenge of Critical Education' in *Education* (Malta), Vol. 3, No. 4, 1990, pp. 2 - 9.

[11] Cf. Corrigan, P., Sayer, D., *The Great Arch*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p.11.

[12] Vancell, J., op.cit., 1991, p. 38.

[13] Taped interview with Paul Bugeja, which I carried out at his residence in Malta on August 14, 1991.

[14] Cf. quote from Conservative British politician and former Education Secretary, Kenneth Baker, in Westwood, S., 'Constructing the Other: Minorities, the State and Adult Education in Europe' in *The Politics of Adult Education*, Westwood, S., Thomas, J. E.(eds.), NIACE, London, 1991, p.168.

[15] Baldacchino, G., *Worker Cooperatives with particular reference to Malta: An Educationist's Theory and.Practice*, Institute for Social Studies, The Hague, 1990, pp.70,71.

Current Adult Literacy Programme

The Labour Government terminated this particular adult literacy programme, in 1973, as a result of a strict adherence to bureaucratic civil service procedures regarding low attendance. The eighties, however, witnessed a renewal of interest in the area of adult education. The concept of Lifelong education, which entails a reconceptualisation of the entire educational process, and of which adult education is an important component, began to be propagated by academics and politicians alike in their various talks and writings concerning educational policy.[20] Even today, it features prominently in discussions and policy documents on education and I would submit that it is often erroneously used interchangeably with adult education. As such, soon after the Nationalist Party won the 1987 General Elections, bringing to an end sixteen years of uninterrupted Labour rule, it sought to revive adult education within the Education Department. An Adult Education Unit was set up and the revival of the adult literacy programme constituted an important aspect of government's efforts in this field. The relaunching of the Adult Literacy programme coincided with UNESCO's proclamation of 1990 as International Literacy Year.

Unlike the previous campaign, the emphasis was, this time, placed on the Maltese language. The context in which this programme was introduced was markedly different from that in which the previous campaign was launched. The literacy classes were opened in January 1990 and, by then, Malta had been an independent nation state for twenty five years. During this period, Malta became a republic (13 December, 1974) and, later, a country free of any foreign military bases (31 March, 1979). One may argue, therefore, that the emphasis placed on the native Maltese language is in keeping with the historical changes that the country experienced. This is not to say that there was a drastic change in language policy in so far as the Maltese educational system is concerned. English still remains the dominant language in the Maltese educational system today, therefore ensuring the reproduction of that class of Maltese society which, to use Bourdieu's term once again, has the required 'cultural capital' to make effective use of the language and therefore the educational system itself. As such, the issue regarding whether or not English should be introduced, alongside Maltese, in the adult literacy programme, had to be faced. My feeling is that, unless people from the underprivileged Maltese social categories learn English, they remain at the periphery of political life. As of October 1991, the adult literacy programme in Maltese has been complemented by another separate programme, this time in the English Language, which programme is, however, still in its early stages. The challenge, in my view, is not simply to make the dominant language accessible to underprivileged groups but to enable it to be learnt in a problematising manner.[21] Critical appropriation of the dominant language should, in my view, be the goal to aim at. This should be an important goal not just for underprivileged groups but for all of us Maltese who seek to decolonise our mind. To what extent does problematisation constitute a feature of any of the Maltese adult literacy programmes available?

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[16] Baldacchino, G., 'The Industrialisation of Malta: A Historical Analysis of the Formation, Control and Response of Labour' in *Issues*, Azzopardi, E, Heywood, P. (eds.), The New Economics Society, Malta, 1988, p.64.

[17] ibid, pp.64, 65.

[18] Delia, E.P., 'Some Considerations on Post-war Migration from the Maltese Islands' in *Issues - Aspects of an Island Economy*, Azzopardi, E, Scerri, L.J. (eds.), The Economics Society, Malta, 1984, p.17.

[19] Vancell, J., op. cit., 1990, p.9.

[20] Cf. Wain, (ed.), *Lifelong Education and Participation*, University of Malta, 1985; my interview with Alfred Sant, then President of the Malta Labour Party, in *The Teacher* (Malta), May,1986,p.16; The Malta Labour Party's document on Education, for discussion among party delegates: *Edukazzjoni - Dokument ghad-diskussjoni tad-delegati*, Il-Macina, 1990, item 12; Nationalist Party's Electoral Manifesto, *Solidarjeta' Dejjem...Kullimkien*, Pieta', 1992, Section 5.

The Maltese adult literacy programme, which I coordinated until January 1991, is one area where a problematising education is conspicuous by its absence. The pedagogy used throughout is, by and large, traditional and smacks of the transmission model, 'Banking Education'. One may argue that people who have, for years, been conditioned to 'Banking Education' and who have not been accustomed to liberatory practices that entail creativity and, therefore, risk - taking, are likely to offer resistance to any attempt by a facilitator to depart from traditional 'tried and tested' methods. It would be pertinent to recall, here, Paulo Freire's remarks concerning the fear of freedom experienced by people who have never been encouraged to explore their creativity.[22] The pressure faced by innovative adult educators, who persist in encouraging democratic social relations of education, are indeed great. Furthermore, I would argue that there are other factors which prevent social programmes from being innovatory. One important factor is the centralised system of bureaucracy within which the state sponsored adult literacy programme is carried out. As a result of this system,[23] the pressure towards conformity in all spheres of education and on organisers to make do with existing resources (those used with respect to initial education during the day) is great. There is, for instance, strong pressure for adult educational activities to conform to the general system of state schooling in the country. As such, it is not only in the use of school buildings as adult education centres that the system of initial education is replicated but also through such procedures as the closure of these centres during traditional school holiday periods (eg. Christmas, Easter and the July 16 - September 7 Summer period). Since the Civil Service set up is one which does not seem to have changed drastically from the Colonial era, it is hardly conducive to non prescriptive modes of educational activities. The pressure towards the cooptation of organisers/practitioners is inexorable. Furthermore, there seems to be a tendency, within the Department, to encourage the recruitment of adult educators from the teaching ranks. There is always the danger, therefore, that these teachers will replicate the traditional procedures they engage in during the day time. Old habits die hard! One of the ways out of this situation would, in my view, be that of having a cadre of people trained exclusively to engage full time in adult education. We do not have such a training programme , as yet, and this partly explains why the replication of traditional teaching methods occurs within the adult literacy programme.

There are other aspects of the adult literacy programme which warrant consideration. As is the case with adult education worldwide, female participation in the adult literacy programme has been substantial. Of the approximately 1,500 adult learners who joined the programme in January 1990, no less than 720 were women, the majority of whom in the 30 - 40 age group.[24] The presence of women in these programmes became even stronger in view of the fact that there was a tendency for the drop out rate to be stronger among males than among women.[25] As a matter of fact, when classes reopened in October, 1990, after the Summer break, there was a total of 347 women, as opposed to 217 men , attending centres in Malta and Gozo.[26]

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[21] Cf. Shor, I., Freire, P., *A Pedagogy for Liberation - Dialogues on Transforming Education*, Bergin and Garvey, Massachusetts, 1987, p.72.

[22] Cf. Freire, P., *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, N. York, Seabury Press,1970; Freire, P., Macedo, D., *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World*, Bergin and Garvey, Massachusetts, 1987.

[23] On the issue of centralisation in educational policy making in Malta, cf. Darmanin, M., 'Maltese primary school teachers' experience of centralised policy' in *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1990, pp. 275 - 308.

[24] Statistics, concerning attendance, compiled by the Adult Education Unit, Department of Education, Beltissebh, Malta, 1990.

[25] 'The Malta Adult Literacy Programme, 1990 and Beyond', Adult Education Unit, Department of Education, Beltissebh, Malta, 1990, p.7; Vancell, J., op. cit., 1991, p. 98.

The greater presence of women than men in the adult literacy programme makes it imperative for the Department to recruit more female, than male, adult educators. Unfortunately, the tendency to recruit adult educators from among those who are employed as state school teachers creates problems even in this respect. The situation experienced during the programme's initial years is that more male than female educators are available to teach in the adult literacy programme. In view of the fact that adult educators have been segregated on gender grounds, which allows for special arrangements to be made with a view to accommodating the specific requirements of women, many of whom are home makers, we are faced with a situation where male adult educators are teaching entirely female groups. The problem with this situation is that it is most likely that barriers will continue to arise because of differences in gender location. I feel that, in order to overcome this problem, an important change ought to be made. Recruitment of teachers should be made from a larger pool than is currently available. The number of female teachers employed ought to be commensurate with the number of female classes in operation.

There are other target learning groups which warrant consideration in a critical analysis of Malta's adult literacy programme. One may argue that disabled persons are victims of discrimination in this programme. People suffering from physical disabilities are being prevented from attending any of the thirty five or so centres because no structural alterations, to cater to their needs, have been made to the school buildings in which the adult literacy classes are held. Paraplegics, for instance, are dissuaded from attending the adult literacy centres because there is no ramp at the entrance to the buildings. The need for such alterations to be made to the buildings was stressed also by a consultant at the recently set up Employment Training Corporation (ETC). She insisted to me that physically disabled people, enrolled in the ETC programme, should be allowed to attend adult literacy classes at the centres, rather than participate in programmes designed and held specifically for them.[27] All this is being advocated with a view to integrating disabled persons in the larger society. The presence of physically disabled adult learners at the centre necessitates the adult educator's sensitisation to their situation.

This is not the only issue that adult educators should be sensitised to, especially if their pedagogy is to be a transformative one. The proposed programme for the formation of adult educators should therefore be broad enough to encompass not only basic processes in adult learning facilitation but also a broad theoretical foundation component which sensitises prospective adult educators to the issues of class, gender, disability, sexual preference, race and other forms of social differentiation. A lack of sensitivity to such factors can be the cause of barriers arising between adult educators and adult learners. Recognising the manner in which these issues are at play in the learning situation and dealing effectively with them, can provide the basis for a transformative education. I would submit that, for this to occur, there should be a progressive pedagogical movement promoting, as well as sustaining, initiatives in transformative education in different sites of social practice. The newly created *Moviment Edukazzjoni Umana*, a progressive pedagogical movement, inspired by critical pedagogy and ideals of social justice, and which includes, within its ranks, teachers, parents, administrators, academics and students, offers hope in this respect.

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[26] ibid, p.143. In my routine weekly visits to the various centres, I discovered, through conversations with adult educators and with the learners themselves, that one of the reasons why men tend to drop out of the programme is that they often seize opportunities to engage in 'moonlighting' work. The so called 'underground' or 'hidden' economy is a thriving one in Malta. As far as the general drop in attendance is concerned, Summer Daylight Saving Time is another factor which has to be reckoned with. From these discussions, I discovered that it affects attendances in localities characterised by a mixture of urban and rural people. Those who work in the fields would be unwilling to sacrifice an extra hour of their work to attend adult literacy classes. Cf. 'The Malta Adult Literacy programme, 1990 and Beyond', Adult Education Unit, Education Department, Beltissebh, Malta, 1990, p.9.

[27] Taped interview with Wendy Zammit, Consultant at the Employment Training Corporation, Malta, held on Friday, 30th August, 1991.

REVIEWING A SENIORS LEADERSHIP PROGRAM THROUGH FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

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ABSTRACT

This article describes the review of a continuing education program designed to facilitate partnerships between seniors who have undertaken leadership training and agencies in the wider community. The review set out to determine the perceptions of students and agency representatives about the program using focus group interviews as the chosen methodology.

RESUME

Cet article décrit l'évaluation d'un programme de formation continue, désigné pour faciliter l'association entre des persones agées qui ont completé un course d'instruction sur la direction et les organisations dans la communauté générale. Cette étude a eu l'intention de déterminer les perceptions en ce qui concerne le programme parmi des étudiants et les représentatifs des agences en, utilisant les entrevues des groupes de mire.

A. INTRODUCTION

The Seniors Leadership Program (SLP) is an innovative certificate program that was implemented in October, 1990, to meet the needs of seniors to develop and refine leadership skills which would then be applied to community projects. The program's first class of twenty-seven seniors graduated in May, 1991.

According to Knox (1979) "evaluating the impact of education means going beyond measures of satisfaction and learning gain to assessment of practical application in terms of changed performance and societal benefits." The project reported here assessed program strengths and weaknesses, practical application, and benefits to the agencies involved in the partnerships.

The Seniors Leadership Program was developed around several key theoretical premises:

1. Many of the educational opportunities open to seniors emphasize recreation. But recent developmental models of aging suggest that recreation alone cannot help people discover a sense of purpose in life. The SLP emphasized continued personal development and the discovery of meaning through service to others.
2. Many seniors want to develop new interests after retirement that will give greater value to their lives. They may formulate a new vision and change their priorities at this stage of life (Novak 1983). They may

replace the middle-aged focus on their own and their family's survival with a wider concern for the welfare and survival of the world. The SLP helps older people act on this concern. The SLP challenges students to discover renewed personal power and to learn new skills that will help them create a better world.

3. The program values seniors experiences and knowledge. The design of the classes gives students the chance to share their experiences and wisdom. The students will serve as models for one another of how seniors can develop and discover personal strengths and value in their lives.
4. The SLP meets the needs of seniors and of the community, society and the world for leadership. The pairing of the needs of seniors and of society is logical and elegant. Seniors bring years of experience to leadership tasks. They may also bring a more gentle, more patient, clearer, more focused approach to change. Seniors can experience their work as a legacy to the future. The world needs the leadership of seniors and this work of leadership refreshes and replenishes the lives of seniors.

In consideration of the above premises, the **outcome objectives** for the program were defined as follows:

1. To teach seniors how to provide high quality volunteer or paid help to agencies, groups, and programs in the community. Also, to graduate leaders who can assume responsibility for the creation and maintenance of community programs that serve seniors.
2. To refine already existing skills and talents of retired seniors and to help seniors develop skills required by agencies, groups, and programs in the community.
3. To involve seniors in an ongoing apprenticeship program while they take courses related to their specific leadership interests. Apprenticeship projects include: mediating court-referred disputes, counselling victims of crime, and conducting parenting classes.

This program, then, was a multi-faceted one in which the University of Manitoba Continuing Education Division facilitated partnerships between seniors who had undertaken leadership training and agencies in the wider society.

B. METHODOLOGY

With any new program, it is important to generate feedback as to its strengths and weaknesses so that strengths can be maintained, areas of weaknesses addressed, and improvements planned and implemented for future offerings. To accomplish this, a program review was conducted to determine the perceptions of students and agency representatives about various aspects of the program. Two sets of focus groups (four in all), one set consisting of students and one of agency representatives, were interviewed regarding various aspects of the program, such as:

- success of the program in meeting its goals
- program content
- program processes and procedures
- the extent and type of learning that occurred
- extent of satisfaction on the part of agencies and students with the project practicum carried out as part of the course
- extent of overall satisfaction with the program
- suggestions for improvement

Analysis of the information generated provided recommendations for improvement of various aspects of the program. The data collected was considered in combination with data already known about the program such as retention rates, project information, and student evaluations with the intent of improving the next program offering.

C. FOCUS GROUPS AS A REVIEW METHODOLOGY

Focus group interviews are growing in popularity among information seekers in the social sciences because of their ability to explain how people perceive an experience, idea, or event. Focus groups can be used to:

- help evaluate existing programs and services
- improve the planning and design of new programs
- provide insights marketing programs and services to the field.

Focus groups work because they bring human tendencies to bear in a way that supports eliciting perceptions so that they can be utilized. Attitudes toward programs and services are formed or brought into awareness at least partly by interacting with other people. People influence one another in focus groups, and latent impressions or emotional reactions come to consciousness providing a candid view of user perceptions. The permissive atmosphere of the focus group encourages exploration and disclosure of feelings and thoughts not normally expressed, and allows for deeper probing into areas of particular interest to the research.

Kops and Percival (1990) point out that focus group interviews provide not only more information but also better quality. This is attributed primarily to the synergy, spontaneity, candour, reduced inhibitions and increased feelings of security of members that arises from interaction. Versatility and flexibility are also two major advantages pointed out by Kops and Percival.

According to Kops and Percival focus groups have proven practical in various stages of program planning. The data gathered can impact upon decisions in the stages of the program planning process, including during formative evaluation. This methodology has characteristics which are basic to the area of adult and continuing education. The process is "collaborative, responsive, participative, and relies on experience of those involved." Practitioners of adult education also have two essential skills necessary to implement the technique - facilitation and an understanding of small group process.

D. LIMITATIONS

Focus groups as a qualitative methodology have inherent limitations (as do other methods of generating and collecting data) that must be considered when dealing with results. The responses provided were grouped and summarized according to the analyst's view of the emerging meanings. Another analyst might attribute different meanings to some or all of the data. Some of the meanings people attempt to convey about their experience with the program are subtle and shifting; views emerge as people think over and talk about what they see is important. With another facilitator or analyst, these may have developed or been perceived differently. However, a qualitative approach offers a fuller opportunity than quantitative ones for people to express the range of growth and experience they have undergone, and may be confirmed through triangulation and comparison with reports and written evaluation.

Qualitative reviews are by nature not generalizable to other programs, although their findings and the program experience they reflect may provide useful information about program implementation.

E. ANALYSIS

The following procedures were used to analyze the data:

1. **Individual group analysis**, including content analysis, considering the order in which issues arose in a group and the amount of time allocated, intensity of reaction and the diversity of similarity of viewpoints expressed.
2. **Across-group comparison**, comparing first the parallel groups and then all four groups on each topic, on major ideas that emerged, and in regard to variability, climate and specificity of response.

F. FINDINGS

1. Student Focus Group Findings.

Overall students soundly supported the value of the program. A major finding was that the experience of being part of the groups was of prime importance to these seniors, resulting in new-found friendship, support and respect for the life experiences of the class members.

A finding that somewhat of a surprise was the issue of male domination in the classroom and the resulting frustration experienced by women in the class. Students in the focus groups recommended that this issue be addressed early in the program and dealt with family as a serious issue.

Program content was seen as a credible and equivalent to a certificate program. Both processes and information were seen as relevant and useful.

The project practica were seen as a valuable opportunity to practice seniors' leadership skills within an agency context. Through the practica they were taking on community activities in which they otherwise would not have been involved. Suggestions were made as to how the practica could more effectively have been planned and organized. Seniors' concerns on this issue were validated by the agency focus groups in which similar concerns were expressed. Agencies felt that they were not well apprised regarding the practica, the agencies' roles, and student involvement. It was suggested that a practicum coordinator be appointed to provide student support and communication with the agencies.

Other items included the issue of certification, program length and start date, and provision of a student roster to the seniors currently in the program.

2. Agency Focus Groups

Both groups expressed feelings of being valued and appreciated for their contribution to the SLP by being asked to participate in the focus groups.

All of the participants felt that agencies benefit from seniors' perspectives in approaching their projects.

The SLP and its contribution to their agency through the student practicum was seen as worthwhile by most of the focus group participants. It was a way of making the experience and knowledge of seniors available to community service units, and helped identify strong candidates as project leaders for future undertakings. The practicum offered an opportunity to do something the agency might not otherwise have attempted. Similar logistics problems were encountered by the agencies as had earlier been identified by the seniors.

The agencies expressed concern over several issues, one being that some students had received their certificates without having necessarily completed their practica. In one case, seniors had dropped out of the practicum when the program ended, even though their practicum was not completed. Another concern was the $200.00 fee charged to participating agencies. It was not clear why the fee was necessary, and the agencies felt that it should be levied only upon completion of the seniors' practica.

Overall, the program was seen as having the potential to be very beneficial to the community and is beginning to fulfil that potential, according to the two agency groups.

Benefits include:

- This program will have a "ripple effect" on the community.
- The seniors' perspective is important to tap into in mounting projects and in helping agencies and community services such as the police to become more sensitive to and aware of seniors' issues and

concerns.

- Effects on seniors themselves are beneficial. The program will help address issues such as self-esteem and isolation.
- For agencies, the effects were very positive and just beginning to be felt. The program assists agencies to mount new projects and improve existing ones.
- The main concern was seniors' and agency time needed to undertake projects. Agencies need to have an opportunity to ensure that projects are consistent with their needs and that the student will be with them long enough to make their energy investment worthwhile.

G. CONCLUSIONS:

The findings of this study reinforce the value to both seniors and community of a program such as the SLP. As an innovative program, the SLP offers much to both components. It has made a positive difference in the lives of seniors. It is perceived as helping agencies better meet community needs during a time of economic constraint.

The review concluded that it was important to maintain the strengths developed to the point in the program and to address the areas needing improvement, including improving the planning and communication for the projects portion of the program, and some aspects of classroom interaction.

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DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN AGRICULTURE THROUGH UNETHICAL AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES: A CASE OF TANZANIA

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Abstract

Urban agriculture can be defined as the rearing of animals and the growing of crops in urban areas. The purpose of this paper is two fold: First, to explain the development of urban agriculture through unethical agricultural and livestock extension services through education offered to the elite. Second, to examine conditions which impelled the elites to practice urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam city in Tanzania.

Resume

L'agriculture urbaine peut être définie comme l'élevage des animaux et las culture agricole dans des milieux urbains. L'objectif de cette étude est double: premièrement, expliquer le développment de l'agriculture urbaine par rapport à l'extension des services d' education peu thiaves fournis â l'élite: deuvièment, examiner les conditions qui poussent l'élite a practiquer l'agriculture urnaine dans la ville de Dar es Salaam en Tanzanie.

Introduction

Urban agriculture in Tanzania can be traced back to 1970's when the government encouraged the underclass, who are the majority, to attain self-sufficiency in food production. This was thought to be a strategy to offset the soaring cost of living and improve the exploitative dependency of the urban workers the on poor rural community for cheap subsidized food.

Due to small plots and inadequate fiscal resources, the underclass did not benefit from urban agriculture, and it was immediately taken over by the elite. Urban agriculture in Tanzania means the rearing of animals and the growing of crops in areas designated urban by the United Republic of Tanzania Local Government (Urban Authorities) Act Number 8 of 1982 Section 80. Animals kept include dairy cattle, poultry, pigs and goats, while vegetables grown include African spinach *Amaranthus hybridus* (*mchicha*), cabbage, tomatoes, and carrots. Field crops grown include maize, cassava, a variety of legumes and platains.

In most tropical African cities and towns urban agriculture is praticed with varying intensities and arrangements (see Gbadegesin, 1991; Freeman, 1991; Mlozi et al. 1989; Rakodi, 1988 and Streiffeler, 1987). Urban agriculture provides an essential source of food and income to some urbanites. In Tanzania it has also enabled the elite to procure superior social and economic goods as well as deriving social status and prestige. However, urban agriculture, particularly dairy cattle husbandry caused tremendous ecological degradation in Dar es Salaam. One salient feature for the development of urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam was the provision to elite of unethical educational endeavors by Agricultural and Livestock Extension Services (ALES).

Purpose of the study: The aims of this study were: First, to explain why ALES through educational endeavors offered to elite seemed to encourage urban agriculture which caused, among other things, environmental degradation. Second, to examine conditions which impelled elite to practice urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam city in Tanzania.

Methodology: This research employed qualitative methodology and data were drawn from Dar es Salaam city in Tanzania from a pilot research which commenced from 1986 to 1990. Interviews and observations formed the central methods for data collection.

The city of Dar es Salaam

In mid 1988, Tanzania had an estimated population of 24 million. Dar es Salaam, the largest city, had a population of 1.3 million people in an area covering 1,100 square kilometers. The first master plan of the city was developed in 1949, by the London based consultancy of Sir Alexander Gibbs and Partners. It set residential areas and land uses according to differing "needs," based on three social groups - Europeans, Asians and Africans (Armstrong, 1987).

The low density zones, one acre plots in salubrious seaside localities, were primarily for the Europeans, and are currently inhabited by local elite. In the adjoining medium density zones, plots ranging from one-sixth to one acre were established for Asians. These are currently domiciles for the medium level local elite. The high density zones, which sometimes sprung up spontanenously, constrained by infrastructure and services, were allocated to Africans. Up until today these have remained so. Significant urban agriculture is practiced by the executive and medium level elite. What is the theory behind this development of urban agriculture which seems to be supported by the agricultural and livestock extension service (ALES)?

Theoretical framework

This study was guided by two canonical principles: the Harm and Equity Principles as advocated by Westra et al. (1991), which are ethically violated by agricultural and livestock extension services in their educational endeavor for the elite. The harm principle, indicates that urban agriculture in the city has brought about: (i) direct harm to persons, (ii) harm to person through ecological damage and (iii) harm of such is not permissible. The equity principle requires that there are right to "equal protection" of the environment and to security of persons. It also mandates agricultural and livestock extension service educational efforts to be governed by the principle of intergenerational equity. The sustainable urban centre can be defined as the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987). To what extent have urban agriculture activities in Dar es Salaam practiced by the elite infringed the "Harm" and Equity" principles? A look the Tanzanian government organization answers this question.

Elite and urban agriculture

In order to understand the development of unethical urban agriculture through ALES, it is essential to familiarize with the Tanzanian government organization structure. On top of the hierarchy is the government seat which overseers all ministries' operations including those of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Cooperative Development (MALCD). The government issues through MALCD specific directives concerning the overall country's agricultural development which includes the production of food and cash crops as well as livestock. MALCD also has the mandate for planning, organizing and administering of educational endeavors through the division of ALES.

In Dar es Salaam ALES intended to impart skills, knowledge and attitude about urban agriculture to two main groups: the elite and underclass. Elite who were executives and decision makers in the government offices, parastatals, quasi-institutions, Armed Forces, private companies and businesses were found to receive most of the education endeavors provided by the extension services in the city. Most were operating profitable urban agriculture enterprises referred to as "*miradi*" in Tanzania. Members of the underclass received far too little educational endeavors from the ALES that made the underclass' enterprises haphazard and minimal.

Most members of the elite practicing urban agriculture used urban infrastructure, loans from financial institutions, inputs and animals to intensify their agricultural enterprises. Education endeavors offered by extensionists played a major role for urban agriculture concentration. For example, an increased educational endeavor provided to the elite saw a rise in the numbers of dairy cattle in Dar es Salaam with imminent environmental degradation. This educational endeavor provided by the extension services to memebers of the elite was unethical worsening the "Harm" and grossly violating the "Equity" principles. The next section of this study explores reasons why agriculture extension services had fallen into unethical provision of educational endeavors to members of the elite who caused environmental degradation.

Unethical education endeavors to urban agriculture

Ethics is understood as inquiry into what is right or wrong (Munitz, 1990, p. 5). In this study ethics will refer to "the moral principles which determine the rightness or wrongness of particular acts or activities" (Webster's Encyclopedic Dictionary, 1988 p. 324). A critical review of educational endeavors provided by the ALES in Dar es Salaam responded to the needs, wants and interests of those at the top in the government hierarchy - the elite. This education was a liberal one that operated to satify the individualistic socioeconmic wishes of the elite. Because it operated from the ethos of 'the supply and demand model', it had reinforced the status quo of those in power - the elite.

For instance, an oligopolistic production of milk was established in Dar es Salaam in which a few members of the elite gained monoply, therefore increasing numbers of animals and hiking milk prices. It was because of such increase in numbers of animals that led to the then Minister of Local Government, Co-operatives and Marketing, Mr. Paul Bomani to warn urbanites that "it was clear that there was great demand for milk in Dar es Salaam, what is required is zero grazing and if you cannot afford it then move your herd out of the city centre and consult experts" (*Daily News*, Tanzania, 1989, p. 3). However, such warnings had not been heeded, nor had experts voiced any suggestions to affect the removal of animals.

One question which this study grappled with was: Did the extension services had any professional code? If they had, would the code have prevented them from provinding education endeavors to urbanites that was against the elite's interests, wants and needs to heed environmental issues? In Dar es Salaam, agricultural and livestock extension workers had no such code and therefore could not refuse to advise elite whom they thought their actions of practicing urban agriculture were causing environment degradation. Unlike [their] colleagues in related helping professions, the extension agent in many developing countries has no profession code to assist [them] in making decisions like these (Ban and Hawkins, 1988, p. 52).

Liberal agricultural and livestock extension education offered to selected members of the elite seemed to gain a stronghold in Tanzania with the recently introduced political shift from the far left to the right which seemingly espouses policies of individualism. From the social transformation view, ALES condoned the "free market view" because the elite used the education which they received to increase their production capabilities. There is no neutral education, either it is a force for change or it reinforces the status quo (Freire, 1972). As an adult education agency, agricultural extension services had no control over what the elite wanted from education. Members of the elite seemed to know better what they wanted to be taught and implicitly prescribed a curriculum for the extension services to follow.

Agricultural and livestock extension being nonformal education had its procedures and methods for offering educational endeavors performed by the extension staff but the learning content was determined by the elite (see Cropley, 1980; and Jarvis, 1986). Therefore, it was difficult for extensionists "to teach" members of the elite anything concerning environmental degradation, since that was not one of the clienteles' preferred content of learning. Extensionists operated from an instantaneous "practice-based" rather than from a "theory-based" view. This clearly exemplifies the notion that education is not neutral (see Freire, 1972) and ... education curricula tends to be biased in favor of those socioeconomic classes who exercise power and control in society (Young, 1971). In Dar es Salaam agricultural and livestock educational endeavors had been biased in favor of that socioeconomic class - the elite, which exercised power and control (see Figrue 1).

The elite in various ministries including those in MALCD were the policy makers, socially important and implicitly influenced policies of the MALCD. Ignoring the social and political contexts of individuals' actions significantly restricts our understanding of the depth and seriousness of the environmental crisis, and hence minimizes the usefulness of such theories for guiding us in radical change (King, 1991).

The "Harm" and "Equity" principles can further guide our understanding by the help of an illustration from one region in Tanzania where a selected unethical agricultural extension educational attempt was used. A case in point would be the agricultural extension service staff working in the hinterland region of Shinyanga who denounced agro-pastoralists for causing land degradation through their propensity to increased numbers of animals and use of poor agronomic practices. Though all extension staff were working for the same ministry, those in Dar es Salaam condoned similar practices, regardless of their different nature and form. However, agro-pastoralists activities in that region happened to be practised by the beleagured "peasants" who seemed to be powerless against the extension services.

Agricultural extension agents in Dar es Salaam were controlled and supervised by the very members of the elite whom most practiced urban agriculture. This made efforts to educate the elite to practice ethical urban agriculture futile, unachievable and a utopian exercise. Extensionists seemed conditioned into accepting the interpretation of their profession as determined by the elite 'the dominant class' so that they had a false consciousness and there existed, therefore, a persistence culture among extensionists of silence to issues concerning environmental degradation.

To most agricultural and livestock extension staff, ethical implications of their work were not defined. For example, most extension staff had developed deterministic views concernig what their work was supposed to be. Extension, to most meant *to bring about changes in skills, knowledge and attitudes to the urbanites concerning agriculture and livestock production*. The realization that such a production could also cause deleterious effects in urban settings, particularly environmental degradation, was apparent to a few extensionists. Most who knew of environmental degradation thought that it was beyond their jurisdiction, and even if it was known, they were powerless to act.

Members of the elite acted as pressure groups because of the economic benefits reaped from urban agricultural enterprises. This point can be exemplified by looking at two dimensions of reality: objective and the cognitive. According to Chawla (1991), objective reality concerns the natural environment - air, water, ocean, mountain, climate, and so on. Cognitive reality, he asserts is human perception and creation and the creative dimension modifies objective reality. One could ask for urban agriculture and environmental degradation: Did both the elite and extensionists share similar objective and cognitive realities on environmental degradation? Unfortunately, they differed.

The study found that most extensionists disapproved, for instance, of the increased numbers of dairy cattle in Dar es Salaam. Yet, they could not deny offering advice to an elite who wanted to purchase a cow. This raised a number of ethical questions which also posed as dilemma such as: Should the extensionists go against the elite's wishes? Or should they have objected to give advice because there were too many animals in Dar es Salaam which caused environmental degradation? Yet, still another question was: Were extensionists also trained as 'environmentalists'?

The study also revealed that most members of the elite expected extensionists to advise them on crop and animal husbandry and not on mitigating environmental degradation. The latter, according to most members of the elite in Dar es Salaam was not the role of the extensionists. One would still ask: What other factors motivated members of the elite to practice urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam? An analysis of that answer is offered in the next section.

Motivation to urban agriculture

Social and economic goods: Members of the elite were motivated to practice urban agriculture in Dar es Salaam for the desire to attain superior social and economic goods. These included paying for children's education in private Tanzanian schools, affording balanced meals and procuring high-class clothes for families. Also others included being able to socialize by drinking beer and dining in high class city hotels, building a "modern" house, buying a car, truck, video or televion set. Yet, still being able to buy, develop and maintain a farm on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam.

Social status and prestige: Status is an intrinsic characteristic of humans in a social organization - it defines who a person is within a social hierarchy. Some members of the elite in Dar es Salaam who practiced urban agriculture constituted the wealthy persons who were able to meet their basic human needs without practising urban agriculture. For example, it was a common "folklore theory" that whoever owned a dairy cow was a wealthy person.

By-law prohibiting urban agriculture: Most members of the elite in Dar es Salaam were motivated by the laxity of city authorities in reinforcing by-laws prohibiting urban agriculture. By-laws were enacted in 1982 after twenty years of independence, after it became clear that urban agriculture activites had surpassed the social threshold level of tolerance.

Findings

With respect to why agricultural and livestock extension services provide unethical educational endeavor to elite practising urban agriculture, it was concluded that urban extension staff had no professional code of ethics. Extensionists had been convinced to buttress and condone the economic gains of the few members of the elite through unscrupulous urban agriculture. The elite lured extensionists by providing them with overt rewards (oftentimes referred to as "consultancies"). Agricultural and livestock education endeavor had been biased in favor of the elite who exercised power and control in Dar es Salaam. Environmental degradation was of no concern.

Implications

Several implications for the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Cooperative Development (MALCD) for its agriculture extension services practice emanate from this study. These implications also concern all ministries. There is a need to dispel the misconception held by members of the elite that ALES are separate development educational endeavors. Such educational endeavors should be organized, planned and managed as a unified and integrated whole with reference to other government institutions, agencies and departments. Moreover, adult education endeavors require a comprehensive educational strategy to combat, among other city evils, environmental degradation. This should involves joint efforts of government ministries, agencies and institutions, that are playing significant educational roles in relation to different clienteles with different socioeconmic objectives. Specific implications could be as follows:

First, MALCD ought to define its ALES based on a code of ethics - based on urban environmental principles of sustainability. Extension services can no longer remain "ecologically blind" in their educational endeavors. Second, agriculture and livestock extension services educational endeavor should not favor the elite. Education should be proactive and foster "praxis", a tradition advocated by Habermas (1971) and Freire (1972).

Third, ALES staff should liaise and co-operate with Dar es Salaam city authorities to ensure that "Harm" and "Equity" principles on urban land use and ecology are observed and upheld (see Martin, 1991 and Sayre, 1991). Fourth, the Dar es Salaam City Council (DCC) should reinforce the enacted by-laws to the book. Fifth, the Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development (MLHUD) together with the National Environmental Council (NEC) should exert pressure on the DCC that by-laws are reinforced. This is heeding what Martin (1991) refers to as the theories of "holism in environmental ethics" (p. 215-234).

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L'INFLUENCE DES STRATÉGIES DE FORMATION SUR LA SATISFACTION AU TRAVAIL D'EMPLOYÉS D'UNE GRANDE ENTREPRISE QUÉBÉCOISE.

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Résumé

L'influence de deux stratégies de formation, la "stratégie de type-intégration" versus la "stratégie de type-aspiration", sur la satisfaction au travail a été mésurée. Les résultats obtenus ont indiqué, qu'en formation en milieu organisationnel, la "stratégie de formation de type-intégration" est plus susceptible d'accroître la satisfaction au travail, comparativement à la "stratégie de type-aspiration".

Abstract

The influence of training strategies, "integration training strategy" versus "aspiration training strategy" on the job satisfaction was measured. The findings support the hypothese that, in workplace training, the "integration training strategy" is more likely to increase job satisfaction than the "aspiration training strategy".

Problématique

Appréciée au travers des changements qu'elle induit par la formation, l'éducation des adultes entretiendrait avec la société un rapport dialectique, lequel rapport témoigne de sa double fonction d'organe de régulation et d'organe de perturbation. Sa fonction régulatrice, l'éducation des adultes s'en acquitte en faisant acquérir aux bénéficiaires de ses services les habiletés qui leur permettent de réagir de façon responsable et créatrice devant les transformations qui surviennent et bouleversent leur milieu de vie. Tandis que sa fonction perturbatrice découle des changements que l'éducation des adultes provoque et des conséquences que ceux-ci ont sur l'organisation de la vie sociale et sur les modes de vie individuels et collectifs.

Relativement à la fonction perturbatrice, une de ses manifestations les plus évidentes est le phénomène de double appartenance que vit le formé au retour dans son milieu de travail. Il arrive souvent, en effet, qu'au retour dans son milieu de travail, un travailleur qui a développé de nouvelles valeurs, à la suite d'une session de formation, se définisse par rapport à deux groupes: le groupe d'appartenance (groupe à intégration) correspondant à celui dont il est réellement membre, et le groupe de référence (groupe à aspiration) correspondant à celui dans lequel il aimerait évoluer et qui, conséquemment à ses nouvelles valeurs, répondrait davantage à ses attentes et à ses besoins. A défaut de ne pouvoir rejoindre son groupe à aspiration, le formé va vivre en tension entre l'intégration et l'aspiration, et vite se retrouver en état de frustration et d'insatisfaction au travail.

But de la recherche

Explorer, dans la perspective de l'intégration et de l'aspiration en milieu de travail, les effets possibles de la formation sur la satisfaction au travail et, de façon plus précise, d'explorer l'influence que pourraient avoir sur la satisfaction des employés formés les stratégies sur lesquelles repose la formation en milieu organisationnel.

Cadre théorique et cadre conceptuel de la recherche

Comme modèle explicatif du phénomène de la satisfaction au travail, la recherche a eu recours à la théorie de la satisfaction au travail de Viateur Larouche et François Delorme. Cette théorie assume l'existence dans une situation de travail de deux pôles interactifs: l'individu d'un côté, et l'emploi de l'autre. Selon les auteurs de cette théorie, c'est dans la mesure où s'établit une harmonie ou discordance entre l'individu et son emploi, qu'il en résultera de la satisfaction ou, au contraire, de l'insatisfaction. La satisfaction est donc conçue comme la résultante entre les besoins des employés et les incitations qu'ils reçoivent de leur emploi.

Mais pour établir la possibilité de l'existence des relations entre une stratégie de formation donnée et la satisfaction au travail, un cadre conceptuel a été élaboré, dont la caractéristique fondamentale réside dans l'enrichissement du modèle théorique original de Larouche et Delorme, par l'addition d'un troisième pôle. Le nouveau pôle, représenté par la formation, joue le rôle de la variable indépendante dans sa relation avec la satisfaction au travail. La formation elle-même renferme deux sous-variables correspondant aux deux stratégies qui sous-tendent les activités de formation et que l'analyse des écrits a permis d'identifier comme les plus dominantes en milieu organisationnel: la stratégie de formation de type-intégration et la stratégie de formation de type-aspiration. Dans la pratique, la stratégie de formation de type-intégration s'identifie à une activité de formation aux caractéristiques suivantes: une philosophie fonctionnelle, un contenu spécifique à un milieu de travail donné et des objectifs essentiellement économiques. Quant à la stratégie de formation de type-aspiration, elle se réflète au niveau d'une activité de formation aux caractéristiques suivantes: une philosophie humaniste, un contenu à caractère général et des objectifs essentiellement de développement de la personne.

Question de la recherche

En formation en milieu organisationnel, la stratégie de formation de type-intégration et la stratégie de formation de type-aspiration influencent-elles différemment la satisfaction au travail? Si oui, dans quel sens et sur quel ensemble de facteurs ont-elles plus d'influence, les facteurs intrinsèques à l'emploi ou les facteurs extrinsèques à l'emploi?

Hypothèses de la recherche

1) En milieu organisationnel, la stratégie de formation de type-intégration et la stratégie de formation de type -aspiration influencent différemment la satisfaction des travailleurs à l'égard de leur emploi.

2) En milieu organisationnel, la stratégie de formation de type-intégration est plus susceptible d'accroître la satisfaction des travailleurs que la stratégie de formation de type-aspiration, et ce, aussi bien à l'égard des facteurs internes qu'à l'égard des facteurs externes à leur emploi.

Milieu de l'expérimentation, population et échantillon

Une importante organisation québécoise du secteur privé, possédant un service de formation de bonne réputation, fut retenue comme terrain d'expérimentation. La population cible a été représentée par l'ensemble des employés inscrits aux différentes activités de formation planifiées et offertes au cours de l'hiver 1990. Les activités de formation ont été identifiées et regroupées dans deux catégories: les activités de type-intégration et les activités de type-aspiration. De chaque catégorie deux activités de formation ont été choisies au hasard et les inscrits, pour un total de 236 employés, ont formé l'échantillon de départ. De ce nombre, il n'en resta que 205, après que 31 répondants aient été écartés pour non conformité aux directives de remplissage du questionnaire.

Instrument de cueillette des données et devis de l'expérimentation

Tenant compte de l'aspect culturel, l'Inventaire de la Satisfaction au Travail (IST) a été jugé comme l'instrument le plus approprié pour recueillir, avec une plus grande assurance, les perceptions des employés québécois à l'égard de leur travail. Cet instrument comporte 18 échelles de type Likert, de quatre questions chacune. Parmi ces échelles, huit mesurent la satisfaction interne et dix mesurent la satisfaction externe. Les échelles sont précédées d'une série de neuf questions qui permettent de recueillir des renseignements sur quelques caractéristiques biographiques.

Comme approche pour apprécier les effets des stratégies de formation sur la satisfaction au travail, il a été choisi d'analyser les situations de quatre groupes d'employés, à leur départ et à leur retour d'une session de formation, au cours de laquelle ils ont été soumis à des activités qui relevaient de l'une ou de l'autre forme de stratégie de formation à l'étude. Les quatre groupes ont subi un pré-test, un traitement (les deux premiers soumis aux activités de formation de type-intégration, et les deux autres soumis aux activités de formation de type-aspiration), et un post-test. Le tout a été effectué sur la base du principe de respect des réalités de la vie en milieu organisationnel.

Présentation et interprétation des résultats

Des tests statistiques, notamment la moyenne arithmétique, le *T-student*, le coefficient de corrélation et l'analyse factorielle, ont permis de faire ressortir les faits suivants: dans les deux groupes soumis aux activités de formation de type-intégration, six aspects internes de l'emploi (attrait au travail, autonomie, autorité, responsabilité, innovation, variété) et deux aspects externes de l'emploi (politique, supervision humaine) ont été identifiés comme ayant été influencés par la formation; dans les deux autres groupes ayant suivi des activités de formation de type-aspiration, la formation a eu une influence significative que sur deux aspects externes de l'emploi, qui sont le salaire et l'affectation du personnel. Au niveau de la satisfaction globale et de la satisfaction par catégorie de facteurs (facteurs internes à l'emploi vs facteurs externes à l'emploi), seules les activités de formation de type-intégration ont eu un impact notable.

Quant aux caractéristiques biographiques, les résultats ont montré, pour quelques aspects de l'emploi, que les travailleurs les plus anciens dans l'organisation, les plus anciens à leur poste de travail et les cadres, se sont montrés plus satisfaits comparativement aux moins anciens dans l'organisation, aux moins anciens à leur poste de travail, et aux non-cadres. Il n'y a pratiquement pas eu de différence dans les comportements des employés eu égard à l'âge, à l'état civil, au niveau de scolarité, et au sexe. Même si dans ce dernier cas, comparées aux hommes, les femmes se sont montrées plus enclines à apprécier l'aspect "autonomie" de leur emploi. Enfin, l'existence d'une colinéarité a été établie entre les six aspects internes de l'emploi ayant contribué à la hausse de la satisfaction au travail observée dans les deux groupes soumis aux activités de formation de type-intégration.

Conclusion et recommandations

Les résultats de la recherche ont montré que la stratégie de formation de type-intégration et la stratégie de formation de type-aspiration sont bien distinctes quant à leurs effets sur la satisfaction au travail. La première s'est révelée plus susceptible que la deuxième à accroître la satisfaction au travail. Ce qui va dans le sens de confirmer les deux hypothèses de la recherche.

Compte tenu de ces résultats, il a été recommandé d'encourager des activités de formation de type-intégration, et d'améliorer les activités de formation de type-aspiration en les adaptant aux réalités du milieu de travail, dans une perspective où leurs objectifs devraient rejoindre les intérêts de l'organisation. Il a également été suggéré que d'autres recherches, utilisant une méthodologie plus rigoureuse et s'intéressant à des employés provenant des organisations de divers secteurs, soient entreprises pour arriver à des conclusions plus certaines.

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DEVELOPING A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK TO ANALYZE APPLICATION OF LEARNING FROM CONTINUING PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: A framework is proposed to identify factors that affect the application of learning from continuing professional education. Six factors are explored. In a pilot test of the framework, two factors were found to be highly significant: the educational program and reinforcement.

Un modèle est proposé pour identifier les facteurs qui affectent l'application du savoir de l'éducation professionale continuant. Six facteurs sont explorés. Dans l'épreuve préliminaire du modèle de facteur étaient trouvés être trés significatives: le programme de l'éducation et l'reinfort de l'emploi.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Billions are spent annually on the provision and participation in continuing professional education (CPE). The intents of CPE depend on one's definition of the term and perspective. From the predominating functionalist perspective the outcomes of CPE are to increase the capacity of professionals to provide higher quality service to their clients.

Substantial evidence attests that CPE programs can satisfy their customers, produce revenue for program developers, and influence short-term knowledge and skill change. There is less evidence that any of this effort affects practice and, in turn, benefits the public. It is estimated that less than 10% of academic knowledge and skill transfers to the workplace. Transfer of capacity to practice and adoption and application in practice are potential stumbling blocks in the murky area between the close of the classroom door and the arrival of the outcome evaluator. This research seeks to determine ways in which CPE enhances the application (use) of knowledge and skills gained.

LITERATURE REVIEW

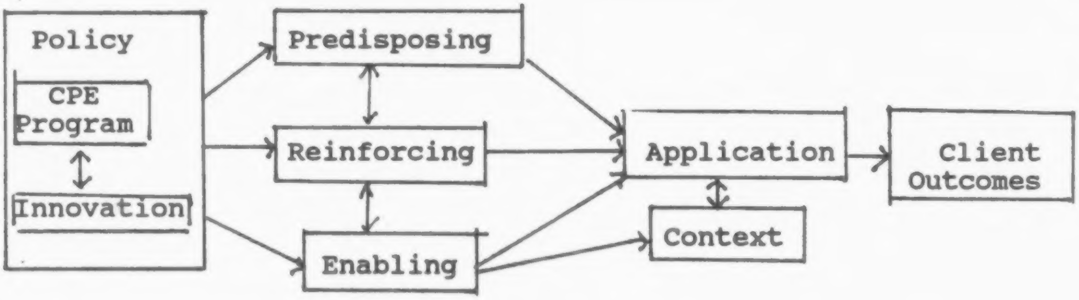
Three bodies of literature bring perspective to application of CPE: implementation, diffusion and adoption, and adult education. Four core ideas emerge from the implementation literature. First, application is a process that happens over time. It is not an event. Second, the changed capacity of professionals from CPE is part of a larger process of social, organizational, or political change. It is not an isolated process. Third, application is preceded and followed by change. It is not an end in itself. Fourth, successful application is marked more by feasibility and adaptability of capacity to the context than rigid fidelity to concepts. Critical variables from an implementation perspective are the nature of the proposed change, technology, or policy, the organizational context, the political milieu, and the broader environment.

The diffusion and adoption literature suggests a complementary set of variables from which to analyze application: the technology or innovation, channels of communication, social system and time. While the implementation literature focuses more on the context, this literature gives greater consideration to the technology or innovation, the "what" of application. Technology is a design for instrumental action that reduces the uncertainty in the cause-effect relationship with outcomes. Innovations are perceived by receivers as having greater relative advantage, compatibility, trialability, observability, and less complexity than exiting technology.

In adult education, the work of Cervero brings together some of these factors in research which analyzes the link between CPE and performance. A conceptual framework was used to analyze under what conditions and for what types of individuals selected characteristics of CPE are most likely to produce changes in professional behaviour and client outcomes. The model analyzed four factors: CPE program, proposed change, individual professional, and social system. The model proved useful in explaining variance in the performance outcomes and demonstrating there are influences on the outcomes other than the program itself. The model proved limited in its generalizability. In particular it leaves questions about the social system, which the implementation literature suggests as an important factor.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Building on the work of Cervero and drawing on a conceptual model widely used in health education, the Proceed Model, a conceptual framework is proposed to study the application of CPE.



This framework uses six factors to study application of CPE: (1) the CPE program; (2) nature of the innovation or technology to be applied; (3) predisposing factor which represents characteristics of a person that motivate behaviour prior to its occurrence, including such variables as knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and values; (4) enabling factor which includes new skills and characteristics of the environment, such as resources, that facilitate application of knowledge and skills; (5) reinforcing factor which includes actual or anticipated rewards or punishments as a consequence of behaviour; and (6) the organizational or environmental context, which may include enabling and reinforcing factors beyond the influence of the CPE program.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The proposed framework was pilot tested with participants (N=35) in a CPE program, "Public Health in Action," conducted at Emory University in 1991. Health professionals attending the workshop were expected to apply the Proceed Model itself in their work setting. The research is conducted in two phases. The first phase, which is presented in this paper, sought (1) to determine the kinds of barriers encountered in application, (2) to characterize the relationships between the barriers and predisposing, enabling, reinforcing factors, characteristics of the innovation, and the educational program, and (3) to describe the relationship between application and characteristics of the technology. Results will guide the second phase of the research which involves interviews with those who returned questionnaires to explore additional variables affecting application, the interrelationship among variables, and their perceived strength. The interviews will be conducted six months post-institute.

METHODS

All participants of the Prevention Institute were sent a follow-up survey three months after Institute completion. 25 participants (71%) returned the questionnaire, along with a signed consent form. Eight weeks were allowed for return of the surveys. In keeping with the objective of the research in the first phase, only those who were employed were included in the quantitative analysis (N=24). This excluded one participant who had just graduated and had no context for application. All analyses are based on 24 workshop participants. Confidentiality of responses was assured.

VARIABLES

Virtually all the respondents attempted or expected to apply the planning model, but encountered more or less success. Therefore, the outcome measure was the contextual variable, the perceived presence or absence of barriers to application. Continuous scales were developed for five independent variables. Predisposing Motivation: Participants were asked to rate 10 reasons for participation in the Institute from not applicable to very important. The list of reasons for participation included networking, problem-solving, desirable location, enhance professional knowledge, and the acquisition of new professional responsibilities.

Enabling Factors: Perceived organizational factors related to supportiveness of the organization towards innovation or change, "closeness" of interpersonal communication in the organization, advance time for planning, and adequacy of resources were measured. Reinforcing Factor: Three questions assessed the degree of reinforcement for use of the model in the work environment: attitude of the immediate supervisor, attitude of colleagues, and reinforcing contact with others regarding application following the

Institute. Innovation / Technology: The innovation or technology items tapped prior experience with any planning models, and characteristics of the technology, such as, user friendliness, adaptability of the model to own needs, and perceived usefulness of the model. Educational Program: Participants were asked to rate the information presented in the Prevention Institute (e.g. content, practice time), how the Institute impacted their understanding of the model, and their perception of whether it improved their capacity to use the model.

RESULTS

Of all participants attending the Prevention Institute, 42% (n=10) encountered barriers to application upon return to work. Open-ended questions allowed participants to identify these barriers. Overall fifteen barriers were identified and subsequently placed into five general categories: lack of support (42%), insufficient resources (27%), no opportunities for use (13%), difficulty in adapting technology (6%), and lack of authority (6%).

Several significant correlations were found between the perception of barriers and predisposing, enabling, reinforcing factors, and characteristics of the educational program. Barriers were strongly correlated with the absence of reinforcing factors (r=-.6163, p=.001), and unfavourable ratings of the educational program (r=-.5817, p=.001), and moderately correlated with enabling (r=-.3637, p=.04) and predisposing factors (r=-.3443, p=.050). Perceived characteristics of the technology did not correlate with barriers.

To determine differences between participants who experienced barriers to application and those who did not, independent t-tests were performed. Participants who experienced barriers had a significantly lower mean number of reinforcing (t=3.41, p=.004) and enabling (t=1.95, p=.064) factors present in their work environment. Also, participants who experienced barriers were not as satisfied with the educational program (t=3.22, p=.005).

Chi-square analyses reveal some significant and marginally significant relationships between perceived characteristics of the technology and plans for its application. More specifically, adaptability of the model (X^2= 3.89, p=.049), improved capacity to use the model (X^2=2.90, p=.089), and increased perception of the model's effectiveness over time (X^2=2.67,p=.103) was related to concrete plans for application. Contrary to expectation, satisfaction with practice time with the model during the workshop was not related to concrete plans for application.

DISCUSSION

The possibility of variables affecting application might appear endless. Theory and research that helps narrow the focus to significant variables which generalize across adult education can help program planners and implementers deliver more effective programming. It can also help policy makers identify needed supports for CPE application.

The first phase in this limited test of a conceptual framework to analyze CPE application confirmed several factors of significance: reinforcing factors and the educational program. The second phase of this research will involve interviews with Institute participants to further sort out contextual and other factors.

The moderate correlations between the independent variables suggest that some desirable combination of these measures, or higher order construct (interaction) may be related to the application of the model in the work environment. Given the limited sample size, multivariate analyses was not appropriate. With a larger sample size a more powerful statistical technique such as logistic regression could be used to assess main and interaction effects between the independent variables and the presence of barriers.

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TOWARDS LIBERATORY ADULT EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: The work of women adult educators is used to develop a statement of mission and direction as a means of engaging in participatory processes towards an understanding of liberatory adult education.
RESUME: Les oeuvres d'enseignantes au niveau post-scolaire sont utilisées pour developper une déclaration de la mission et de la direction comme un moyen d'inciter les processus engageants vers une compréhension d'un enseignement post-scolaire émancipé.

SANDRA RITCHIE: If, ultimately, women are to assume equitable participation in setting the agenda for future research and practice in adult education, both women and men must understand how it is that historically women's interests have been relegated to the "any other business" agenda designation. Because this designation transcends the boundaries of adult education as a field, we must broaden our explorations to the social sphere in order to enrich our mutual understanding of oppression and liberatory potential.

Keen to discover "the how of power," critical theorist Michel Foucault (1980, p. 92) posits a bottom-to-top system of investigation. Rather than a top-down examination of the hidden agendas, overall strategies or rationales of why certain persons or groups want to dominate, Foucault urges a study of power relations focused directly on the "ultimate destinations" (p. 96) at which the exercise of power produces its real effects. To determine how power invests itself in institutions, techniques, instruments, or other infinitesimal mechanisms, we must first center our analysis on the target of its application. Through Foucault's ascending method of analysis, we seek to understand how these mechanisms have been able to function and how they eventually become economically, socially or politically useful in a given context for particular reasons. If followed through, this process eventually brings us to the top of the hierarchy and to those questions of the agendas, strategies and rationales of the dominant group. But these latter concerns are not paramount to effectively comprehending subjugation, nor are they the vehicle for instituting change.

The potential for liberatory change is embodied in Foucault's notion of understanding power by examining its mechanisms and its effects. Potential for change has an additional component in the Foucaultian perspective. Power is viewed as circulatory, "never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth" (Foucault, p. 98). In essence, power comes from above and below. We are simultaneously in a position of exerting and being subjected to power. Within this circulatory conceptualization the notion can be entertained that power cannot be considered as "merely negative or repressive, but also positive and implicit in the constitution of discourse and knowledge" (Kramarae, Schulz & O'Barr, 1984, p. 12).

If women want to move their interests from the subordinate "any other business" category to the inclusive "business arising out of the last meeting" designation, we need to understand the tangible effects of the various processes of our subordination. As well, we must explore possibilities to exert the kind of positive influence alluded to previously. In addition, rather than consider lack of influence as a limitation to our freedom, let us instead endeavour to communicate to other women and men in our field a sense of the empowering potential of our understanding; to realize what psychologist Edmund Sullivan calls the "emancipatory" interest of an "interdisciplinary" critical interpretation (Sullivan, 1990, p. 25).

I suggest that a Foucaultian examination of the oppression of women's interests in adult education benefits from dovetailing our explorations with two additional concerns. In their recent study of program planning literature, Sork and Buskey (1986) discovered a "lack of cross-referencing and absence of cumulative development...devoid of efforts to build upon, elaborate, or otherwise improve and expand existing formulations and perspectives" (p. 91). Complementary to this notion is Sullivan's contention that "meaning is not simply that of individual actors but is part of the expressive relationship between actors," based on a "communication which is not premised on domination and oppression" (1990, pp. 29, 30).

My research is an endeavour to bring these ideas to bear on establishing a statement of mission and direction for liberatory adult education. Getting in touch, exploring other disciplines, reading each other's work, and sharing our experiences of the "real effects" that have been visited upon us by the various mechanisms of dominance generate greater mutual understanding. The result is akin to what Bluma Litner seeks in her 1991 CASAE paper: "a vehicle to explore what is, in order to evolve a new version of what might be" (Litner, 1991, pp. 182-3).

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JOAN SANDERSON: The conviction to commit ourselves to reflection and action for the purpose of changing oppressive realities must be reached as subjects of the struggle, not as objects (Freire, 1982). Can women who have experienced oppression within their lives and their chosen vocation of adult education "struggle [their] way to life-affirming humanization" and validation of their subjectivity (p. 55)? Are we able to examine our oppression, as one teacher of tyrannical truths? What do we need to learn to enable movement toward more humanizing adult education? As women educators can we confront de-humanizing strategies we may engage in? Can we begin to let go of the duality of oppression--that of oppressing as well as being oppressed? Can leadership emerge from within the field to pose the problems and enhance the possibility of liberatory solutions?

Five women, four of Indian ancestry and one Euro-Canadian, shared their feelings and thoughts about their involvement in adult education endeavors. During the initial participatory gatherings, for the purposes of this project, the dialogue reflected intense commitment to adult education issues impacting on First Nations people. I respectfully hope that this written summary accurately reflects the depth of the intellectual analysis--more accurately the human analysis--, and the breadth of life experience which these women brought to the research.

When asked what they believed to be important issues facing women in adult education all research participants raised concerns which seemed generalizable to all people rather than to just women. Issues such as the role of non-Aboriginal educators in Indian and Metis issues, elitism in education and changing the oppressive nature of learning and teaching were among the concerns discussed. Movement toward liberatory and humanizing education for all First Nations people was the focus. This emphasis on the entire Native community of adult learners is congruent with traditional values of wholeness, balance, harmony and respect.

Initially, the focus turned to the role of Euro-Canadian people in Indian adult education issues. The involvement of non-Aboriginal educators may be welcomed if those people have truly addressed the nature of their own culture which fosters dominance, authority 'over,' hierarchical structures and a value system which revolves around materialism and status. Those oppressive aspects of Euro-Canadian culture must be challenged and changed within a person's subjective reality for them to be vulnerable to the worldview of others. The women engaged in this research agreed that white educators who are prepared to let go of power over others, who are willing to see themselves clearly and change some of what they discover, and who are able to embrace the philosophy, values and teachings of First Nations' cultures may find shared space with Indian and Metis adult educators. Some may join in the struggle against oppressive forces, with First Nations people, but if they are cognizant of what self-determination means, their role will be more as supporter, employee, follower, strategist and/or space-maker, than as leader, spokesperson or 'front-liner'.

The participatory group of women also suggested that non-

Aboriginal adult educators have an important role to play within their own cultural domain. As Verna St. Denis (1992) expressed it, "I think it is time that white people who are supportive of our issues start working with their own people to change the system. Speak out about the system--critique the system. Problem solve about how you can change it...to be more responsive to us...It is not up to the oppressed to change the oppressor."

Janice Acoose (1992) states that in her view universities are like factories creating "robot-like beings" who will go forth and recreate the status quo. This notion is supported by Cunningham (1991) when she writes, "Modern public universities have tended to become factories for developing functionaries for the state" (pp. 46). All research participants felt the distinction between higher education (felt to be classifiable as elitist education), and adult education should be broken down. To be liberating this process must involve praxis--the recognition that this idea is meaningful and the action to make it concrete.

From the perspective of the participatory research group the concretization process to incorporate adult education philosophy and principles in university education involves a variety of concepts and strategies. As a graduate student working toward an MFA Beth Cuthand (1992) shares that "my [learning] mission...was to become much more in touch with my own creative processes...To take that further than my [own] life, whatever we learn...is for the good of the people--the continuity of the [Indian] people. I see my [teaching] mission as...modelling creativity in the classroom. To me being a creative teacher is breaking down the walls of colonialism. That's where the ideology of adult education comes in." This idea of creativity being central to liberatory learning emphasizes developing the capacity to solve the problems which confront individuals, groups and societies. It seems congruent with the problem-posing approach espoused by Freire (1982).

It was agreed that a liberatory teacher creates a safe space --safe enough for learner and teacher to be emotionally real. As well, the experiences of each person are seen as central to their view of the world, and are validated as vital and important aspects of the learning process. The sharing of those experiences was perceived by the research group as liberatory for both "sharer and sharee." All participants concurred that dialogue must remain central to the process. Ruth Cuthand (1992) expressed it clearly when she stated, "Indian women's voices must keep [talking], must attempt to be heard, must raise issues, must question institutions." This shared research is one attempt to do just that.

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CHERYL SENECAL:

> My preferred learning style is one which recognizes the social context of learning and which incorporates this reality into the learning process. In other words, learning is not an individual, psychologically-defined activity. Therefore, respect for personal histories and building on the reality of personal experiences is an empowering approach to learning that makes sense to me as an adult learner and as a woman. The notion of "giving birth" to my own knowledge, based in the personal, is something that I work hard to achieve in collaboration with others and with acceptance for what others bring to the learning experience. (Excerpt from "My Learning Journey: Relating the Personal to the Practice of Adult Education," January 1992).

This research explores women's preferred learning styles and how a shared understanding of these characteristics can contribute towards achieving a more liberatory approach to adult education.

In Baskett's recognition of research as a personal and subjective activity (1991), I have assumed his challenge to embrace the very personal nature of this research. Reflections of my own and other women's learning experiences are included "to celebrate [the personal] rather than deny it." (Baskett, 1991, p.5). Embracing the personal advances our understanding of the oppression existing among women to challenge the traditions of research and practice in adult education, and furthermore, of how we, as adult educators, might work to change the limitations of these traditional structures. This work is one opportunity to give voice to the personal and to legitimate women's inherent ways of knowing within the practice of adult education.

As a component of this research, interviews were conducted with staff persons and participants of a federally-funded Outreach Program for women. Several important themes emerge that speak of women's preferred learning styles. Commonly sharing in a "sense of community" was raised as a very important issue by one participant who saw the group come together "to meet common needs." This same individual goes on to state that each participant was able to "have attention" without being forced to compete with others in the group for it. All respondents expressed that program workers were respectful of participants' "personal histories" and of the various skills each woman brought with them to the group. Program participants were encouraged to share "what they were proud of" with other women in the group and to reward themselves by taking the time to "celebrate" together. Personal accomplishments were not held comparable to others in the group. The support coming from within the peer group itself was identified as being very important to the women's needs as learners.

This particular Outreach Project clearly reflects an attempt to integrate women's preferred learning styles into the learning process. Staff persons assist women in overcoming traditional barriers to seeking meaningful employment and support women in their progress towards gaining control of their own lives in an environment of mutual learning. Respect for personal histories, building on the reality of women's life experiences, and recognizing women's lack of self-esteem results in program participants having an empowering learning experience while gaining the skills that can help them challenge the traditional power structures in society.

The essence of what was shared with me about their learning experiences, both as "learners" and as "teachers," adheres to what Belenky (1986, p. 101) proposes as a connected way of knowing. The emphasis on an encouraging, accepting and collaborative model of education necessitates incorporating the notion of the "teacher as midwife" (Belenky, 1986, p. 217) who assists learners in giving birth to their own latent knowledge.

An important parallel can be drawn between the concept of the mid-wife teacher and the role of adult educators as women's ways of knowing are integrated into the practice of adult education. Knowledge, within the context of a connected model of education, is rooted in the personal and is the result of an ongoing exchange of ideas and suggestions between learners as well as between learners and teachers. The focus of this cyclical process is not on the expert's knowledge, but rather on the learner's emerging knowledge.

This research reveals the strengths which women bring inherently to the learning process. By emphasizing connection, collaboration and acceptance along with respecting experiential learning and assisting learners to "give birth" to their own knowledge, based in the "personal," adult educators will make a significant contribution towards securing a more liberatory approach to adult education.

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Transformative Learning in the Context of Social Action

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Transformative learning in the context of social action involves epistemic, socio-cultural and psychic meaning perspective shifts. The study of the personal transformation of the leaders in the Lincoln Alliance corroborates Jack Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation. A theory of society (Alinsky, 1946) is the theoretical praxis that informs the action-reflection process.

L' apprentissage transformatrice dans le cadre de la promotion collective comprend des changements dans la perspective épistémologique, socio-culturelle et psychique. L' étude de la transformation personnelle des leaders de la "Lincoln Alliance" appuie la théorie de transformation de perspective de Jack Mezirow. La theorie d' une société (Alinsky, 1946) est le modèle théorique qui alimente le precessus d' action-réflexion.

Transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991) is a type of learning that is different from instrumental learning. Instrumental learning is skill development which is task oriented, uses problem-solving, procedural knowing and involves manipulation of the environment. Transformative learning seeks to transform reified forces which control and limit a person's decision-making options and rational control over his/her life. "Reification refers to the apprehension of human phenomena as if they were beyond human agency, like laws of nature" (Mezirow, 1981, p. 10). It involves myths that we hold to be true like the proper role of women, the proper role of government, or even one's identity if that is totally involved in his/her social roles. The aim of transformative learning is to liberate individuals from these forces. The process used is communicative and emancipatory action.

Communicative and emanicipatory action seeks to make explicit the meaning of people's values, ideals, feelings, moral decisions, and their understanding of such concepts as freedom, justice, love, labor, autonomy, commitment, and democracy. While instrumental learning uses the hypothetico-deductive process, "communicative learning searches, often intuitively, for themes and metaphors by which to fit the unfamiliar into a meaning perspective, so that an interpretation in content becomes possible" (Mezirow, 1990, p. 9). There are no empirical tests in communicative learning. Rather we turn to decision making by rational discourse or consensual validation to assert what is true. By listening carefully, one can hear the mataphors that people use to describe their habits of expectation or meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1990). In emancipatory or transformative learning, freedom is from habits of expectation that are distorted, deluded or outdated and no longer serve as an appropriate lens through which to view the world.

Perspective transformation is Mezirow's term for paradigm or worldview shift. Sometimes this is called one's frame of reference. "Perspective transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our presuppositions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; of reformulating these assumptions to permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable, and integrative perspective; of making decisions or otherwise acting upon these new understandings." (Mezirow, 1990, p. 14)

The Context of Social Action

The Lincoln Alliance is one of many People's Organizations that organized in the United States in the 1970s with the technical assistance of the Industrial Areas Foundation

(IAF), a Saul Alinsky inspired training organization. The purpose of IAF is to train citizens in the strategies of community organizing. While education centered around instrumental skills, "how to" techniques, e.g., how to interview, how to plan a meeting, how to research the issue ahead of time, the aim of such organizations was to bring about both social and personal change. It was the contention of the leaders in the Lincoln Alliance that the purpose of the organization was to bring about change in people as well as change in social structures. The nature of that change was documented in this researcher's study of personal transformation of the leaders themselves.

A theory of social change was taught in at least two training sessions per year beginning in 1974 in Lincoln, Nebraska. The theory was derived from Saul Alinsky's work in the inner-city of Chicago, specifically the Woodlawn, Back of the Yards neighborhood. Alinsky set up a neighborhood council in the area and began building a power organization composed of these primarily Polish immigrants. Famous for his tactics in social action, Alinsky encouraged citizens to "get outside" the frames of reference of those in power. He was supported by the Roman Catholic church who was interested in upgrading the quality of life for its parishioners. Alinsky adopted theological principles of justice and equality which helped he and his people expose the hegemony in situations. The highly organized and planned strategies produced "actions" in the public arena to be reflected upon systematically in the private arena of the neighborhood council.

The Lincoln Alliance was similar to Alinsky's neighborhood council except that there were 6 neighborhood organizations, 9 churches, and 13 civic groups that composed the organization. Only groups could belong to the Lincoln Alliance. The broad-based community organization was built on the principle that "if you don't have money and you want power, you have to organize." At the time in Lincoln, Nebraska, decisions were made by a small number of business men. Roads were being planned through poor neighborhoods, the most famous being the Northeast Radial which launched the Lincoln Alliance. Railroad property was not taxed properly and the City Council and School Board did not represent the majority of citizens. Through the actions of the Lincoln Alliance, these issues and many others were tackled and were successfully resolved.

A theory of society involved several guiding principles. 1) People have a right to govern themselves and express their needs and desires in an organized fashion. It is the democratic way. 2) It takes power to get anything done. There are three kinds of power: organized money, organized information and organized people. The Lincoln Alliance did not have the first two but did have access to large numbers of people. At the Founding Convention in 1976 there were 500 people in attendance. Dues were assessed at $800 per year per organization on a sliding scale according to membership numbers and ability to pay. Income from dues was spent on hiring organizers and on office supplies. 3) The ability to be successful or "win" on issues depends on the amount and depth of research on an issue, the ability to orchestrate strategies in three month timeframes, and the ability to cut the issue correctly. Cutting the issue refers to getting to the essence of the issue or the root cause of the problem. 4) A concrete issue that most represents the self-interests of the largest number of people begins the process of demystification. Self-interests are what people believe is most in their true interest. Usually they are concrete interests, e.g., a quiet neighborhood, sidewalks, low taxes, good schools. The process of working on an issue begins the same process of demystifying what was reified or blurred before. The mayor is a person, the city council members are fallible, laws can be changed, codes can be altered and so on. 5) Through the process of planning and acting on issues, people's meaning perspectives become broader, more open, more permeable, less rigid, less personal in nature. They become empowered, able to risk and are free to become creative (Scott, 1991).

For this to occur, a collective of people must exist who support each other and feel free to challenge what each finds meaningful. Questions are posed both inside the organization about one's own meaning perspectives and questions are posed outside the organization as to what dominant cultural reality maintains is appropriate and true.

Methodology

Selected for this study in purposive sampling were five presidents, two vice presidents and three organizers of the Alliance. One president and one organizer became a staff member over the course of the organization. Five were men and five were women. Most had moved to Lincoln within a five year period to begin their careers and raise their families. Only two were native Nebraskans and one of those had moved to Lincoln in the early 1950s to attend college. In 1976, five were churched and five were unchurched. All were trained by the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). Each of the leaders was given a pseudonym to protect their identity. In this article, specific units of analysis will be attributed to particular people using their pseudonym.

The original intention of the study was to document the process and organizational achievements of the Alliance. As the interviews commenced it became apparent that the leaders wanted to evaluate what and how the Alliance had accomplished its work. As the stories commenced about the Alliance, the leaders talked about what they had learned personally in the Alliance. This became the focus of the study, "to what extent did transformational learning take place in social action." The philosophies, attitudes, assumptions, beliefs, and self-interests that they used to explain their experience in the Alliance formed the content for transformational learning.

The constant comparative method of Glaser and Strauss (1967) was used in qualitative study. The data were triangulated through interviews, member checks (second interviews), and document analysis of official Lincoln Alliance files and IAF training notes. The member checks sought to corroborate what the researcher chose as significant units of analysis for each person's transformative learning.

Perspective Transformation

A meaning perspective refers to "the structure of psycho-cultural assumptions within which new experience is assimilated and transformed by one's past experience" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 42). Mezirow classifies meaning perspectives into three types: socio-cultural, epistemic, and psychic. *Socio-cultural perspectives* are concerned with social norms/roles, cultural/language codes, secondary socialization, and philosophies/theories. *Epistemic perspectives* are cognitive/learning/intelligence styles, sensory learning preferences, scope of awareness, global/detail focus, external/internal evaluation criteria, concrete-abstract thinking, approach/avoidance, and reification. *Psychic perspectives* are lost functions or repressed wishes of what we want to do, inhibitions, anxiety enforced childhood prohibitions, psychological defense mechanisms, and neurotic needs (Mezirow, 1990). Each of these perspectives selectively orders and delimits the comprehension of new data and the recollection of prior learning. We acquire many meaning perspectives as children and unless they are reflected upon, in time, they become distorted and unreliable in adulthood.

Examples of Meaning Perspective Shifts

Shifts in socio-cultural perspectives were exemplified in cultural codes and philosophies or theories about democracy. Cultural codes would include "to organize is a matter of dignity and self-respect as well as fighting higher taxes." Or, "I am no longer naive about how the system works in a democracy;" the system is governed by those in "power with money." Along these same lines would be "it's too easy to equate citizen participation with power" or "what's good for the National Bank of Commerce is not good for everyone." A critical theory developed as, bit by bit, people took responsibility for governing their own lives, not leaving it to experts or those delegated by them.

These leaders learned that "having power is setting the political and economic agenda and getting others to react to you. Individuals can't do much; they need a forum." The new thinking involved a way of being in a democracy. Josh states, "In a democracy you have to be thinking; you have to know what's going on. You have to be informed about your own interests. You have to be informed about what the public interest is, if you don't think your interests are what the public interest is." When one is constantly assessing what one knows, where one derives that knowledge and how it relates to his/her values, learning is occurring all of the time. This kind of learning requires a social milieu, or a support group, through which present and emerging meaning perspectives are assessed in dialogue. Josh continues with "citizens aren't doing enough reflection. The action of being critical is related to reflection."

Social roles that were changed included Rebecca's shift from a neighborhood leader to a City Council member after her training in the Lincoln Alliance where she learned how to deal with confrontation. She claims, "confrontation doesn't bother me anymore. I'm pretty hard-core." Being "hard-core" is a character attribute that represents both a cognitive and affective dimension to the personality. Esther decided to get her doctorate in political science instead of library science. Sam campaigned and won the chair's position of his sociology department. Naomi shifted from a self-image of "nurturer" to "leader."

Epistemic assumption changes included developing cognitive abilities to be more analytical and systematic in thinking. Being more reflective and trusting in the group to create knowledge is a new way of knowing that heretofore existed outside the group, in books, in authorities, in power figures. One epistemic assumption change that is qualitatively different than the others is: "giving people a vision of themselves as powerful was not enough. A transcendent source of power is needed to sustain one." Again, in reflection and in evaluation of the Alliance experience, Abe is able to articulate a way he learned to transcend being called "a communist which in those days was a bad thing. . . It takes maturity to stand that kind of criticism."

Through the support of a collective which is holding one accountable as a leader, psychic assumption shifts include "I no longer look at the world through rose-colored glasses." What they thought was reality was actually something different. Deborah's definition of how the world should be, based on love, justice, altruism and principles of what is "right," was found to be based on a naive belief. She discovered that the way the world really is, seems to be based on public agreements, negotiated contracts, and "quid pro quo." Clarity accomplished through social action exemplified what individuals, both inside and outside the organization, held as significantly in their self interest. Mark gained a sense of "personal and political efficacy" from being successful in social change; a collective commited to challenging previous notions that one was a victim or not efficacious was essential to this psychic shift. Through the practice of acting on issues in the public arena, leaders "gained confidence in risk taking." Confidence in risk taking infers one did not have the ability to risk before which no doubt was imposed from one's past.

An example of the magnitude of the personal transformation that occurred is Naomi's comment, "I had a genetic shift in thinking as a result of the process." She shifted from how and what she thought in the past. Naomi and Rebecca seemed to risk more, become leaders, when there was a support group cheering them on. Thus, a worldview or meaning perspective shift involves "thinking of everything differently." Naomi learned to analyze what and how she thought about motherhood, friendship, and democracy as she entered into critical reflection. She had to decide what was relevant to keep from the past and what must be shed.

Discussion

The specific meaning perspectives that leaders identified as transformative learning contributed to a perspective transformation. This study corroborates Jack Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation. From the data, it is apparent that the leaders transformed their perspectives about how democracy is run and how it ought to run in the United States. The Lincoln Alliance was a conflict-theory driven organization that sought to disturb the worlds of both participants within the organization and those identified as targets outside the organization through the social change process.

Participants in the Lincoln Alliance study spoke at length about the need to reflect at every point; i.e., in deciding and researching the issue, determining the strategies for action, acting in the public arena and finally evaluating after the action and the reaction-to-the-action. Thoughtful action involves reflection on both the content and process. Moving from this to self reflection encourages such questions as "How does this issue impact me and my family?" or "What am I going to get out of participating in the action on this issue?" A third type of reflection seems to be critical self reflection. An example of this is when Abe spoke about finding himself in the middle of social action asking the questions, "What am I doing here and what's going to happen?" When he placed his life on the line, acting on an issue that was important, he was forced to question his identity, modes of behavior and thought, and the underlying assumptions (premises) for why he was doing what he was doing. The social process of involvement with like-minded people participating in social change actions forces one to go into critical self reflection.

Conflict or confrontation (holding one accountable for his/her actions) is important in the formation of personal transformation through social action. The leaders in the Lincoln Alliance talked about the feeling of being "stripped" before the commissioners in a public meeting, the feeling of despair when the Alliance dissolved or the agitation they felt when ordinary and poor citizens were rendered powerless to affect the quality of their lives. The emotional aspects of social action seems to create not only cognitive restructuring as in the instance of perspective shifts but also deeper values and feelings about that which ultimately gives one meaning In a sense there is a spiraling down into the depths to assess the connections among all essential ways one has derived a meaningful existence. There is a letting go of the rational world, in a sense. This is the radical questioning in critical self reflection, and ultimately one discards those ways of making meaning which no longer are seen as relevant. It is essential when one is going through this process to have a reference group, a holding group (Winnicott, 1965), or a plausibility structure (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) to sustain the new way of seeing the world.

A process model seems to include five spiraling dimensions. First, there is recognition of existing assumptions, beliefs, and self-interests. Secondly, there is an event that they can recall or that they experience in the present that somehow disturbs existing assumptions. Alinsky calls this "agitation" which is the main function of an organizer, to agitate people. Thirdly, out of the event and the subsequent reaction to it, a new set of conclusions are drawn which lead ultimately to a worldview shift or character change. A worldview shift is synonymous with a paradigm shift or as Mezirow calls it, a perspective transformation. "The term has come to be used as a synonym for *model, conceptual framework, approach, and worldview*" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 46).

Implications for Practice

The study of the transformative learning that occurred in the leaders of the Lincoln Alliance is a significant study for adult educators. Jack Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation is a helpful theory to use when analyzing data from critical education ventures. The concepts of epistemic, socio-cultural and psychic meaning perspectives that people articulate about how they have changed is a useful typology. A perspective transformation for those in the Lincoln Alliance seemed to involve sometimes several epistemic, socio-cultural and/or psychic meaning schemes which resulted in a perspective shift. Through the conflict that is planned and sought in social action, the experience of acting and reflecting (through both social and personal dialogue) can include emotional reactions which precipitate the spiraling down into the depths of despair. Alliance leaders kept journals, wrote about their feelings, and continually checked with significant people about what they thought was occurring in the process of action and reflection. These kinds of techniques can be included in higher education classes, in workplace settings, and community classes. The use of experiences through which one interprets whether theory is relevant or not has proven to bring about significant changes in adults, as this research exemplifies. In the case of the Lincoln Alliance, Saul Alinsky's concepts of how democracy should be run became the theoretical principles that guided the adults who participated in acting on these principles.

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Early Adult Education Associations in Canada: Short-lived Experiments in the 1930s and 1940s

Gordon Selman

The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature and activities of six provincial/regional adult education associations which existed in Canada in the 1930s and 1940s, but which had disappeared by 1950.

Le but de cet article est d'explorer le type et les activites de six associations provinciales/regionales d'education aux adultes. Ces groupes virent le jour au des annees trente et quarante mais avaient cesse de fonctionner avant 1950.

Early Adult Education Associations in Canada: Short-lived Experiments in the 1930s and 1940s

Gordon Selman

Research in the field has made clear that in the main, the establishment of provincial associations of adult educators in Canada came about in the 1950s and the 1960s (Selman 1988; Selman & Dampier 1991). Accounts of that earlier research, however, noted that there had been several earlier short-lived bodies, established in the '30s and '40s, all of which had disappeared by 1950. It is the purpose of this paper to examine those earlier organizations--to the extent this is possible--and to indicate something of their origins, nature and activities.

Investigation reveals that there were six such organizations, in Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, the Eastern Townships of Quebec, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland (in this period not yet part of Canada). It is clear that the six associations referred to were varied in character and functions. We know very little about most of these organizations. Perhaps the chief intention of the author is to bring these groups to the attention of interested scholars in the hope that further research will be carried out at the local and provincial levels.

The Associations

Newfoundland. The earliest to be formed, the Newfoundland Association was founded in late 1929, the apparent product of an invitation to Albert Mansbridge of the Workers Educational Association (U.K.) to make a speaking tour of the territory (Newfoundland and Adult Education 1930; Newfoundland: The Inception of a Movement 1930; Burke 1939). The Association was closely linked with the World Association for Adult Education (WAAE), whose annual reports described it as a regional body within the WAAE structure. The government of Newfoundland funded programs through the Association and in some respects absorbed it within the government services in 1936, but WAAE reports as late as 1943 indicated its continued existence. In the latter year, the Association "operated 31 centres and maintained work in lumber camps" as well as in St. John's (Personal communication D. Balsom to author; WAAE Annual Report 1943:4). The work was restricted by shortages of funds and personnel both before and during the war years, but existed until at least the mid-war period (Newfoundland 1937; Farwell 1943).

Prince Edward Island. An association was formed in P.E.I. in 1936 under the name of the Adult Education League. An article which appeared the following year indicated that the chief activity was to furnish material for study groups (to be operated through the public library system) the content of which seems to have been closely related to the work of the Antigonish Movement (Adult Education in P.E.I. 1937). Subsequent accounts appearing in 1939 confirmed these impressions, one in November stating that the League currently had 300 study groups functioning and was working closely with a large number of credit unions and co-operatives (Croteau 1937; Corbett 1939). An article about Farm Forum which appeared in 1941 stated that the League was the organizer of Farm Forum in P.E.I. (Morrison 1941).

Eastern Townships of Quebec. With financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation, McGill University employed a community worker in the person of R. Alex Sim in 1938 to conduct a program aimed at strengthening the sen se of community of the English-speaking areas in the Eastern Townships. Known as the "Community Council for Adult Education" or the "Eastern Townships Adult Education Council", this body was based initially at Lennoxville, then Sherbrooke, and beginning in 1942, at Macdonald College (of McGill). The work may be seen as falling within the community development tradition. It involved a considerable social dimension as well as instructional programs. An account of the work published in 1943 stated that "over 10,000" adults were using the service and that the activities included: 125 Farm Forum groups (with 2,000 members), 13 community schools, leadership training schools, Film Board circuits, a monthly journal and a travelling library service (Adult Education in Quebec 1939; Corbett 1941; Eastern Townships 1943; personal communication R.A. Sim to author). The latest reference to this activity appeared in 1948, when it was referred to as the Committee for School Programs of the Protestant School Boards of the area (Adult Night Schools 1948).

Ontario. Remarkably little is known at this point about the Ontario Association for Adult Education. It was established at least as early as 1936, because there is notice in the CAAE journal in 1939 that Mrs. H.P. Plumptre was retiring as President after serving a three year term (Ontario Association for Adult Education 1939). It is known as well that during 1937, the Association ran a "literary competition", inviting contestants to write essays on the subject, "Adult Education for My Community" (Literary Competition 1937). At the time of writing, nothing else is known about the activities of the Ontario body. It is possible that unlike the other associations mentioned previously, it was not in the main a programming organization, but rather a meeting place for those engaged or interested in the field.

Manitoba. The Manitoba Association was established in 1934 (England 1980; Selman 1991) and appears to have been a "clearing house and co-ordinating body", so termed by E.A. Corbett in 1937 (Corbett 1937:14). Leading figures included Dr. David Stewart, the founding President (a medical doctor), Robert England and Andrew Moore, among others. The Manitoba body seems to have been a product of the "idealistic" period of adult education, the leadership coming from persons in various walks of life who believed in the benefits, both individual and social, of such activity. The Association continued in existence until at least 1941 (Progress in Western Canada 1941), though the Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Adult Education in 1946 indicates that the Association gave up at least some of its functions in 1939, when the University of Manitoba secured Carnegie funds for related activities (Manitoba 1946).

Alberta. We have more information about the Alberta Adult Education Association than about any of the others. Because the organization was initiated by government figures, a number of key documents have been preserved in archives; the organization was able to employ professional staff, who wrote about the work (for example, Bercusson 1944); and two scholars have in recent years devoted attention to the Association (Clark 1985; Blevins 1990). The Department of Education of Alberta called a meeting of interested parties in 1943, out of which eventually came the Alberta Association (a somewhat parallel Adult Education "Council" was operative for a brief period as well, but was soon dropped). Both the premier and the Minister of Education took part in the initial meetings, using such phrases as the need to promote "a well organized system of adult education" and the wish to promote democratic values

--(cited in Blevins 1990:2). There was some suspicion on the part of the University extension people that the government was attempting to undermine its leadership in this field (Clark 1985). The government made funds available to employ central staff, led by Leonard Bercusson, and to assist communities with the development of adult education services, in the main through programming grants to the school boards. It also promoted the establishment of "Community Councils on Adult Education", which functioned in Lethbridge, Calgary, Lacombe, Edmonton, Wetaskiwin and Medicine Hat. Bercisson stressed that the objective was not to duplicate services, but to "encourage and co-ordinate activities which were already under way" (Bercusson 1944:15; See also Stearn 1944). The Association did carry out some programming of its own, however, including radio-based discussion groups. The local councils also ran evening class programs. Over time, funding fell increasingly behind what was required to maintain the work which had been put in motion. This came to a crisis point in 1948, when the government withdrew its support and the Association was disbanded.

National Perspectives

E.A. Corbett, the Director of the CAAE, was of course aware of these events in the regions. In 1939, he presented a paper in the United States in which he described the state of the field in Canada. The paper, or a version of it which was subsequently published in the CAAE journal, contained a section entitled "Regional Committees", in which the following appeared:

> In several of the provinces, Provincial Committees on Adult Education have been formed to serve as clearing houses of local interests, giving common direction to activities within the provinces and providing points of easy contact with the parent body. (Corbett 1939b:13)

He went on to say that he saw the provincial bodies as a useful means for the distribution of literature, the organization of study clubs, the development of educational broadcasting, the holding of conferences and the training of leaders.

There are several significant points which arise from Corbett's comments. One is that although he stresses the clearing house and co-ordinating functions of these bodies, the other accounts we have seem to put more stress on their direct programming role, except perhaps in the case of the Manitoba group. A second point has to do with the emphasis he places on the use of broadcasting and the organization of study groups. We know of Corbett's abiding interest and creative activity in this area (Corbett 1957; Armstrong 1968), and in this case, the other sources we have stress the role played by the provincial bodies in this area. The third item raises different kinds of issues. In his paper, Corbett mentioned that some members of the CAAE National Council had doubts about the wisdom of encouraging these provincial associations, feeling that their presence might have the effect of halting the growth of "national unity in education" (Corbett 1939b:13). But Corbett puts himself on record as being in favor of the regional developments. (Similar concerns arose in the 1960s when further provincial organizations emerged (Selman 1985)).

Another important national perspective is provided by Eugene Bussiere, then with the Extension Department of Laval University. He wrote an article for Food For Thought in 1947 which sheds some light on somewhat parallel developments in French language adult education circles. His article was mainly about La Societe canadienne d'Enseignement postscolaire. Bussiere carefully pointed out that the Society which he was describing, though mainly Quebec based, was "national in scope" and in that sense was "parallel to the CAAE" (Bussiere 1947:28). He also referred to the provincial level of activity. He stated that in 1939, quite separate from the national French language organization, "the Province of Quebec was organizing its own provincial Association for Adult Education" and that "the French-speaking Canadians of the West also organized ...their own organizations in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta". He also stated that currently (1947), "Ontario and the Maritimes" were working on establishing "similar associations" (Bussiere 1947:29).

Comment and Analysis

1. From the perspective of the present day, we might expect that provincial adult education "associations", such as those being described here, would be "professional" bodies, established to facilitate communication among workers in the field. The limited research done so far reveals, however, that with the exception of the Manitoba Association (and perhaps Ontario) these bodies were rather coalitions of agencies--public and private/voluntary devoted to programming for the general public. The Manitoba Association seems to have been of a different character from the others. It was a product of what has been termed the "idealistic" period (Selman 1991). The key figures in Manitoba were not adult educators; they were leading figures from various walks of life who believed in the potential of adult education to improve society and the lives of individuals and who were willing to associate their names with the movement.

2. Why did such groups form? There were no doubt different circumstances from one province or region to another, but one of the impulses may have been the co-operative ethos of the Depression and Reconstruction periods. These were lean times in Canada, as elsewhere and there was a tendency to utilize co-operative approaches to tasks which may have been beyond the resources of individual groups. The Depression years were also ones which saw government enter into various kinds of partnerships with voluntary bodies in the field of human services (See Selman 1976), and the role of government as funder and co-sponsor in several of the provincial associations is consistent with such practices.

3. Why did they typically last for such a short time? Three reasons may be mentioned. The first has to do with the extensive changes in Canadian society resulting from the outbreak of the war in 1939 and the end of the Depression. Governments adopted new priorities and may in some cases have lost their commitment to their role within the associations. The second reason is a related one. In some cases, the provincial groups were rather fragile creatures, with the leadership coming from a very few persons. Changes brought about by wartime conditions could very easily remove one or more key persons on whose enthusiasm and talent the associations depended. The third reason may be that as the war "stirred up" Canadian society, the adult education programs of many agencies took a spurt ahead. At least some of the organizations which had been involved in the associations, and conducting their programs through them, may have felt less need for such co-operative arrangements.

4. What connections can be seen between these relatively short-lived associations of the '30s and '40s and the more professional bodies which appeared in the subsequent two decades, especially the '60s? The author began this research on the assumption that these earlier organizations were pretty much the same as the later ones, but fleeting because the field was just beginning to take shape

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and the number of persons feeling a commitment to such bodies were few. On closer examination, however, the ealier groups turned out to be programming bodies on the whole, based on co-operation among several organizations, sometimes including government.

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REFRAMING PROGRAM PLANNERS' PRACTICE: AN INTERPRETIVE STUDY

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Adult education literature offers little analysis of the practical knowledge required for the actual planning process. This research explores the conceptions university continuing education planners utilize in the actual planning process, and constructs a conceptual framework which reconceptualizes planners' practical knowledge, planning, and the relationship of theory and practice.

However, the planning literature in adult education reveals the widespread use of the academic model which is undergirded by the empirical-analytical perspective and Tyler's rationale for curriculum and instruction. This approach involves a linear model of planning, a technical view of planners, and a logistical relationship of theory and practice.

On the other hand, the theoretical approaches to practical knowledge, curriculum, and teacher thinking adopt an experiential model, which is undergirded by an interpretive perspective and Schwab's theoretical formulation. This approach presents planning as deliberative, planners as creators and possessors of knowledge, and a dialectical relationship of theory and practice.

Since an interpretive perspective emphasizes everyday problem solving and meanings that individuals give to objects and events, as well as the uniqueness of the context within which interactions occur, this research uses an interpretive approach and a qualitative method consistent with the research problem, questions, and desired end product. Further, this method allows indepth study and pursuit of many hard-to-reach concepts embedded in planners' practice, and the development of rich description from which to derive analyses, interpretations, and conceptual categories which may lead to the development of theory and a language of discourse consistent with planners' practice. A pilot study, employing a questionnaire guide, is used to collect data from two planners, and to verify the research problem, questions, perspective, and method. This is followed by open-ended interviews, with the questionnaire guide, with four more participants. Documentary materials and two participant observation meetings provide additional data sources.

The research expands on practical knowledge which includes: a declarative way of knowing, that is, the information processing phase; procedural knowledge of rules and routines of planning for communicative understanding and interaction/interpersonal processes; and conditional knowledge of contextual values, planners' values, beliefs, and metaphors for critical reflection and action in decision making. Planners reframe planning through dialectic mediation of theory and practice. Planners' practice is intentional, systematic, and emergent; while the practice situation is unique, uncertain, and complex. These concepts form a conceptual framework for describing practice while providing an agenda for future research.

The field of adult education presents a curious paradox. Observations made in the course of professional practice leads one to conclude that program planning is a central activity in the adult education enterprise for which program planners are responsible. To this end, the fulfillment of that responsibility requires the ability to bridge the gap between theory and practice; to possess and use knowledge of the commonplaces, self, and planning in a purposive and creative manner; to negotiate decisions among competing and conflicting needs and interests of adult learners and various interest groups; to be cognizant of the mission, goals, and philosophy of the employing unit and the institution; to work within the constraints and conflicts of the unit, the institution, and societal context; and to facilitate and enhance adult learning. In short, program planners are discriminating professionals whose intentions are to bring about learning in their clients and who struggle to choose methods, materials, and content that best serve the goal of bringing about such learning (Elbaz, 1981).

While no one claims that all planners possess all these abilities and fulfill all their responsibilities to perfection, many of them perform as able and responsible professionals. Yet the program planning literature in adult education which is undergirded primarily by Tyler's (1949) theoretical model is often atheoretical and "cookbook like"; provides a technical view of planners' practice (Apps, 1985; and Sork and Buskey, 1986); and consequently presents only a partial conception of planning and planners' practical knowledge.

On the other hand, Schwab's (1969) practical curriculum perspective portrays planners' practice as complex and creative, requiring a dialectical relationship between theory and practice. His perspective presents an alternative view of planning and planners' practical knowledge (Connelly, 1983; Elbaz, 1981; and Clandinin, 1986). Both Tyler's and Schwab's theoretical formulations draw conceptually upon planning models in the field of education. Since adult education draws conceptually upon the field of education, an understanding of appropriate planning models and their intellectual traditions provides an organizing framework for understanding planners' practical knowledge and planning in adult education.

Eisner and Vallance (1974), Gay (1980), and McNeil (1981) identify four discernible models and their associated modes of knowing which conceptualize planning in education, including adult education. These four models break down into three major types: (1) the technical model, which is a derivative of the content-focussed academic model, and is underpinned by the empirical-analytical perspective and Tyler's rationale; (2) the experiential model, which is learner-centered, is underpinned by the interpretive perspective and Dewey's and Schwab's theoretical formulations; and (3) the social reconstruction/adaptation model, which is problem-situation focussed around learners' problems in their lived worlds, is undergirded by a critical perspective and Freire's theorizing on curriculum.

In the academic/technical model the condition of valid and reliable knowledge is the mathematical model of the empirical-analytical perspective, which relies on quantification and measurement of observable behaviour. The theory-practice relationship is logistical, where theory is applied to practice. This model suggests that there is a "right way" of planning which is linear and uni-dimensional. Ends are separate from means and are seen as unproblematic. The model is described as "theoretic" and technical.

In the experiential model the condition of valid and reliable knowledge is experimentation and problem-solving methods which rely on identification of learners' problems in the situation. This model is undergirded by the interpretive perspective. The theory-practice relationship is dialectical, where theory and practice mutually determine each other. The model is described as "practical."

In the social reconstruction/adaptation model the condition of valid and reliable knowledge is the problematization of learners' lived world which is central to the critical science perspective. This model relies on the collaborative identification of problems related to the political, social, historical, and economic context which defines learners' lives. The theory-practice relationship is "praxis" or dialectical, where theory and practice are mutually constitutive. The purpose of education is "emancipation" based on critical reflection and action in decision making.

Carr (1986) states these perspectives more accurately approximate the Habermasian view of the empirical, interpretive, and critical forms that human and social sciences can take, each based on a different interpretation of the nature of human action and social life (instrumental, communicative, reflective), and each incorporating different preferences about the kind of practical purpose or human interest that social scientific theorising serves (technical, practical, emancipatory) (p.183). Moreover, these perspectives constitute different interpretations of planning, the nature of planners' practical knowledge, and the theory-practice relationship.

Further, a number of writers in the field of adult education, including Pennington and Green (1976), Brookfield (1986), Burnham (1988), and Cervero (1988), concur that planners reject the wholesale use of planning models because of their uneven fit in practice. Brookfield (1986) describes this uneven fit as "theory practice disjunction." If planners reject planning models in practice, then just what is it that they do and how do they know how to do it? Therefore, it is important to describe planning in practice and elicit from planners the grounds upon which they base their actions.

Moreover, the dominant planning model describes planners' practice as exclusively concerned with identifying content, developing objectives, and establishing criteria to ensure the objectives are achieved --a content-focussed perspective. While this describes a significant component of planning, it is not a comprehensive model for it. It fails to address both the situational context in which programs are planned and the practical knowledge planners hold and use in making decisions about planning.

From an analysis of the planning literature this study argues that continued reliance on the dominant model not only obscures what planners do in practice, but it also inhibits the development of a meaningful conception of planning and planners' practical knowledge. To this end, Schwab's (1969; 1971; 1973) perspective on the practical curriculum, upon which a number of studies build, including Connelly (1972), Elbaz (1981), and Clandinin (1986), offers a useful alternative framework to reconceptualize planners' practical knowledge and planning. However, reconceptualization cannot be accomplished on an empirically verifiable basis unless research is undertaken which examines planners' practice from their perspective. The collection of such data requires an involvement of planners themselves in the research process. Thus, through interviews planners are asked to explain the grounds upon which their practice is based.

The findings suggest that planners are more than technicians carrying out the prescriptions of a technical planning process. Based on deliberation among the commonplaces in planning, planners reframe planning through dialectic mediation to bring about adult learning. Planners use declarative knowledge or information processes which includes collecting, analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating data to describe the situation; they use procedural knowledge of rules and routines of planning for communicative understanding and interaction/interpersonal processes; and they use conditional knowledge --contextual values and their values, beliefs, and metaphors-- essential for critical reflection and action in decision making. These processes are undergirded by a dialectic relation of theory and practice.

Further, in practice situations, the ends are not always known and the selection of means are not simply based on technical criteria of efficiency and effectiveness, the values and goals of the empirical-analytic perspective. Rather, problems encountered in practice situations manifest uncertainty, uniqueness, complexity, and value conflict which rely for resolution on planners' practical knowledge. Planners understand, interpret, and confer meaning on practice situations to make the "best" decisions. Planners' practice implies a conceptual framework or theory which renders practice meaningful. Planners draw conceptually on the three perspectives to act appropriately in the practice situation. Although planners may not systematically reflect on their practice, when they do, what is often articulated is a conscious, deliberate process which is undergirded by informal theories or assumptions about the what, how, when, and why of practice. Planners' practice is intentional, systematic, and emergent. In this view, the centrality of planners' practice offers a reconceptualization of planning as a deliberative process through which planners reframe planning through dialectic mediation. Planners' practical knowledge consists of declarative/information processes; procedural/communicative understanding and interaction or interpersonal processes; and conditional/critical reflection and action in decision making; all is undergirded by a dialectic relation of theory-practice.

Criteria for Resource Allocation
in
Adult Education

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Abstract

This paper presents preliminary results of a study of criteria used in resource allocation decisions in adult education organizations in Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore. Data were obtained from 166 respondents using the Program Decision Making Survey. Findings indicate interesting similarities and differences in the listings of "most important" and "least important" criteria.

Ce papier de recherche represente les resultats préliminaires d'une étude de critère dans laquel les decisions d'allocation des resources dans les organisations d'education d'adulte en Canada, Hong Kong et Singapore sont éclairés. L'information a été obtenu de 166 repondants en utilisant le "Program Decision Making Survey." Les reponses indiquent les similarités et differences dans les listes de criteres "toute au plus d'importance" et "la moindre d'importance."

Background

A continuing interest among adult education researchers and practitioners is understanding why some learners participate in programs while others do not. Studies of motivational orientations (Boshier and Collins, 1985) have revealed some of the reasons why participants choose to enrol in adult education programs while studies of barriers (Cross, 1981) and deterrents to participation (Darkenwald and Valentine, 1985) have revealed some of the factors that prevent adults from enroling in programs. As a result of these studies we now have some understanding, from the point of view of participants or potential participants, what factors influence their decisions about whether or not to enrol in an adult education program. What has received relatively little attention by researchers is what factors or criteria influence decisions of providers about which programs will be offered to adult learners.

This paper presents preliminary results of a study designed to determine the relative importance of different resource allocation criteria to adult education practitioners working within a wide variety of provider organizations in Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore. The study is based on an analytical model of resource allocation that identifies the key variables in the process. Figure 1 summarizes the elements of this model and indicates the relationships between criteria and other elements of the resource allocation process. Also indicated are as yet unknown influences on the selection and weighting of criteria--influences that also interact in what are likely complex ways with other elements of the process.

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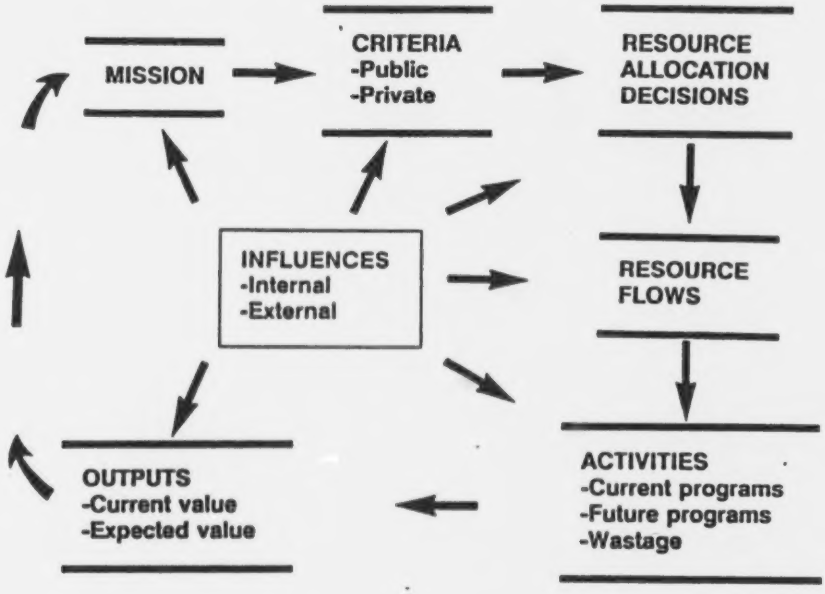
MISSION
CRITERIA
-Public
-Private
RESOURCE ALLOCATION DECISIONS
INFLUENCES
-Internal
-External
RESOURCE FLOWS
OUTPUTS
-Current value
-Expected value
ACTIVITIES
-Current programs
-Future programs
-Wastage

Figure 1. An analytical model of the resource allocation process.

Sork (1990b) has described the elements of this model and has explained the role of criteria in the process as follows:

> *Criteria are the standards used to make judgments or decisions. In resource allocation decisions, criteria provide a basis for differentiating among those needs, wants, demands, program ideas, client groups, and so on that are competing for limited resources. If criteria are not apparent when resources are allocated to X, they might be inferred from answers to the question, "Why did you allocate resources to X?" or from answers to the question, "Why didn't you allocate resources to Y?" Whether criteria are expressed directly by decision makers or inferred from their responses to questions like those above, they represent a logical connection between mission and resource allocation decisions. In some organizations and units criteria may be formalized and well understood by all those concerned, while in others, criteria may be known only to individual decision makers. If criteria are not formalized or otherwise made accessible, they can only be inferred from the pattern of resource allocation decisions.* (p. 362)

In order to conduct research directly with practitioners, it was necessary to assume that practitioners were aware of criteria that were used in their organizations to make resource allocation decisions and that they would be willing to acknowledge them when asked to do so on a survey instrument. But it is likely that there are both *public criteria* and *private criteria* at work in resource allocation. As used in this study, *private criteria* are factors that influence the decision to offer programs but are either not recognized or are not acknowledged by practitioners. *Public criteria* are those factors recognized by practitioners as influencing decisions to offer programs. More specifically, then, this study attempted to determine the relative importance of 48 public criteria used in adult education organizations to make resource allocation decisions.

Data Collection

The instrument used to collect data for this study was the Program Decision Making Survey (PDMS), a four-page survey designed to determine from individual practitioners the relative importance of criteria which may influence decisions to offer programs. The original version of the PDMS contained 37 criteria (Sork, 1990a) which were supplemented with 11 additional criteria identified by respondents. The current version of the PDMS was administered to 166 adult education practitioners during 1990-91 working in more than 20 different types of provider organizations. The primary work roles played by respondents included administrator/manager, teacher/trainer, consultant, counsellor/case worker, researcher, coordinator and staff. Level of involvement in making decisions about whether or not programs are offered ranged from no involvement to high involvement with just over 75% or respondents indicating either *moderate* or *high* involvement.

Findings

Table 1 summarizes the ten *most important* criteria identified by respondents from Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore. In a similar fashion, Table 2 summarizes the ten *least important* factors identified by the same respondents.

Findings reveal important similarities in the listings of *most important* and *least important* factors for the three cultural groups, although there are some notable exceptions that can be explained by the context in which the respondents work. Criteria identified as most important in all three settings are *availability of funding, potential benefit to participants, potential demand for the program, contribution to organization's objectives, and urgency of the need.* In both Hong Kong and Singapore, *availability of instructor* was a most important criterion reflecting a general problem in both jurisdictions of finding qualified instructors to staff adult education programs. Although claims are often made that adult education programs are offered in response to needs and interests, these findings suggest that this is only partly true. There are clearly other factors that are considered important when making resource allocation decisions. It may be that *need* and *interest* continue to be used as part of the justification for offering programs, but other factors which are not directly related to needs or interests weigh heavily in the decisions about whether or not to offer programs.

Table 1
Ten Most Important Resource Allocation Criteria Identified by Practitioners from Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore on the Program Decision Making Survey

Canada (n=67)		Hong Kong (n=27)		Singapore (n=72)	
Criteria	**Mean**	**Criteria**	**Mean**	**Criteria**	**Mean**
Availability of funding	4.46	Potential benefit to participants	4.11	Potential benefit to participants	4.34
Potential benefit to participants	4.40	Potential demand for the program	4.07	Contribution to organ. objectives	4.10
Potential demand for the program	4.15	Urgency of the need	4.04	Priority of the government	4.06
Consistency with organ. philosophy	4.06	Number of potential participants	3.93	Urgency of the need	4.04
Contribution to organ. objectives	3.97	Availability of facility	3.93	Availability of funding	4.03
Urgency of the need	3.88	Contribution to organ. objectives	3.89	Consistency with organ. philosophy	3.96
Number of potential participants	3.79	Availability of funding	3.81	Contribution to individ. performance	3.85
Previous success with the program	3.72	Cost benefit considerations	3.81	Availability of instructor	3.83
Motivation of potential participants	3.70	Previous success with the program	3.74	Contribution to organ. productivity	3.82
Cost benefit considerations	3.70	Availability of instructor	3.74	Potential demand for the program	3.79

Table 2
Ten Least Important Resource Allocation Criteria Identified by Practitioners from Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore on the Program Decision Making Survey

Canada (n=67)		Hong Kong (n=27)		Singapore (n=72)	
Criteria	**Mean**	**Criteria**	**Mean**	**Criteria**	**Mean**
Labour market demand	2.85	Program not available elsewhere	3.15	Availability of materials	3.18
Competitors offer similar programs	2.84	Relevance to current soc. problem	3.15	Availability of planning time	3.14
Traditional offering of the organ.	2.82	Prerequisite for other programs	3.15	Degree of political support	2.97
Prerequisite for other programs	2.76	Relevance to future soc. problem	3.07	Community support for the program	2.97
Potential profitability	2.75	Expected lifespan of program	3.04	Level of interest in the community	2.93
Availability of facility	2.73	Traditional offering of the organ.	3.00	Potential profitability	2.88
Contribution to job advancement	2.55	Required by govt. or authority	2.96	Traditional offering of the organ.	2.78
Contribution to employee morale	2.54	Priority of the government	2.93	Expected lifespan of program	2.74
Availability of equipment	2.45	Degree of political support	2.74	Program not available elsewhere	2.59
Contribution to job mobility	2.28	Competitors offer similar programs	2.59	Competitors offer similar programs	2.43

Criteria identified as least important in all three settings are *competitors offer similar programs* and *traditional offering of the organization*. Canada and Singapore had in common *potential profitability* while Hong Kong and Singapore had in common *program not available elsewhere*. It was somewhat surprising that potential profitability was not rated higher in Canada given that many programs that were once subsidized by governments are now expected to at least break even or generate a profit. This finding could be accounted for by the weighting of the sample toward agencies that ostensibly do not have "*profit*" as an organizational objective. One of the least important criteria in Canada--*availability of facility*--was among the most important criteria in Hong Kong. The relatively small sample of respondents from Hong Kong were drawn largely from those who work in public sector adult education which has been under heavy enrolment pressure in the last few years. Demand for adult education has filled some public institutions to capacity, which may account for the importance attached to this criterion. Another interesting contrast is found in the listings for Hong Kong and Singapore. The third most important criterion in Singapore was *priority of the government* while this criterion was the third least important in Hong Kong. This finding was not unexpected given the substantial influence that the Singapore government exercises over the adult education sector. It is not uncommon for public sector educational providers in Singapore to embrace the current priorities of the government whether it be offering programs to help well-educated young men and women to get to know one another with the objective of increasing the marriage rate within this group to providing occupational training programs in areas with shortages of skilled workers. [Note that the criterion, *labour market demand* was rated twelfth in Singapore, eleventh in Hong Kong and thirty-ninth in Canada.]

These findings suggest that decisions about what programs are offered are heavily influenced by a wide range of criteria only some of which are related to needs and interests of adult learners. This study of criteria used in Canada, Hong Kong and Singapore is only suggestive of the cultural, social and economic determinants of the kinds of programs offered to different groups of adult learners. Two important limitations of the study are that not all types of adult education agencies are represented in the samples and the samples may be moderately biased toward public sector providers of adult education. These limitations make generalizations about cultural differences dangerous without gathering more data and developing a better understanding of how the social, economic and cultural context influences the resource allocation process. The data do provide an opportunity to conduct additional analyses, most importantly to determine if there are common factors under which each criterion can be classified. Factor analysis of the 166 responses to the PDMS will determine if there are logical and empirical relationships between the 48 criteria. It will also be desirable to analyze the data by the type of adult education provider organization to determine if differences in the criteria used are better attributed to the type of agency in which resource allocation decisions are made or the social, economic and cultural milieu in which the agency is located.

Further, this research deals only with public criteria used to make resource allocation decisions and does not attempt to identify either private criteria or the internal and external influences that shape the configuration of criteria used to make decisions. In short, this study has barely scratched the surface of what is likely a very complex process. But given the large sums of money, personnel, facilities and other resources expended on adult education programs, it seems like an area of research in need of greater attention. Developing a better understanding of the resource allocation process would lead to better understanding of who benefits from adult education, why they benefit and how public funds might best be spent to achieve desirable public policy objectives.

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Beyond Workplace Learning: Workers Education for a Change.

A symposium. Bruce Spencer, Athabasca University,
Michael Welton, Dalhousie University,
John McIlroy, University of Manchester.

Malgré une certaine mode d'apprentissage au lieu de travail favourisé par le patronat nous devons aux travailleur/euse de discuter des possibilitiés d'une apprentissage qui convient a ses propres besoins, de son auto-détermination et d'un activisme social informé qui ca serait la conséquence.

Overview of symposium

Recent discussions amongst adult educators about "workplace learning", "working knowledge", "the role of adult education in HRM" etc have tended to overlook a different tradition of workers education. Although traditional workers education might begin in the workplace it would also include examination of industrial, economic, social, political, historical and legal issues. The current interest in working knowledge should not prevent discussion of educational programmes for working people which are designed to provide learning opportunities which are both independent of the employers immediate needs and provide the basis for informed social action. Workers education can aid working people to better understand the economic, social and political contexts of work and to bring about change in the workplace and society.

This symposium will begin with a critical discussion of the rise and fall of workers education in Britain and Canada before examining examples of current practice in both Britain and North America.

We will conclude by considering key curriculum questions of content and method and by answering the question: What forms of workers education are needed for the twenty-first century?

The Rise and Fall of Independent Working Class Education in the UK

John McIlroy

I am considering here the tradition flowing from the Ruskin College strike (1908) intimately related to 'The Great Unrest' and the socialist revival of the early years of the century. Three broad periods may be discerned. The period of insurgency and progress to 1920 involved the establishment of local labour colleges, the Central Labour Colleges (1909) and a distinctive Marxist approach centred on the Plebs League. The second period, commencing with the formation in 1921-22 of the National Council of Labour Colleges, saw the closure of the CLC in 1929. It was a time of centralisation, institutionalisation and erosion of the earlier elan. The foundation and hostility of the Communist Party was important. The post 1945 period was one of assimilation and decline in which the reality of NCLC work differed only slightly from that of the WEA. After the takeover of the NCLC by the TUC independence was formally maintained until the acceptance of state finance a decade later; but political education was replaced by industrial relations training.

The traditions of IWCE - a forthright assertion of the need for political education based upon a mix of syndicalism and 2nd International Marxism - always informed by a fierce hostility to the role of the state in education and thus the university/WEA alliance had, by the 1930s, become totemistic. By the 1950s this ideology influenced its work only marginally.

IWCE is of great interest as an example of socialist educational endeavour. As such it has attracted its fair share of romantic inflation. It was always a smallscale minority movement. Its great days spanned only the twenty years from 1909. At its height, not more than 40,000 students were involved annually. Even in its strongholds, such as South Wales, it was penned in by the CP. By the 1930s voluntarism and democracy were restricted. By 1950 its active ideology was no different from that of Attlee or Citrine.

Reasons for this are not hard to find. Lack of resources; lack of support for Marxist education from the leadership of the labour movement; mechanistic learning methods; the decline of activism; failure to renew leadership; the erosion of class consciousness by state education; failure to understand the role of the state - all are suggested (Armstrong 1988; Brown 1979; Hambling 1987). But 'incineration of class consciousness' ideas appear to predicate some essential consciousness anterior to, rather than developing with, in organic relation to, changing developments in politics and in economic and working class organisation. We are left with questions as to why, beyond greater resources, state education was more successful, why labour leadership was hostile. We can only analyse the rise and fall of IWCE in relation to wider social, economic and political change. We cannot examine IWCE within a limited educational discourse. Writers such as Armstrong over-estimate what happened in education in maintaining capitalism. It played a subordinate role. It was secondary. What happened in the schools of labour, to use Welton's terminology but to extend it beyond the workplace to the unions and parties was a thousand times more important than what happened in Labour's schools.

Internal factors from mechanistic conceptions of education to sectarianism and the temperament of J.P.M. Millar bear analysis; but only if related to the wider context. The failure of IWCE has to be related in detail to the interaction of the dominant reformist consciousness of the working class, the role of the state in developing this, the particular form the Labour Party took (and the LP/CP split) as well as the increasing development of bureaucratization in the unions. IWCE was able to grow in the earlier period, partly because of the openness and malleability of working class organisation. The decision by the CP in the late 1920s to attempt to destroy the NCLC bears greater scrutiny. The Labour Party was only fully defined, organisationally and politically, in the decade after 1935. We can contrast, for example, the weak, porous, politically amorphous union bureaucracies of 1920 with their larger, more clearly demarcated, politically formed Labour-loyal, cold war equivalents of 1950 who now saw labour education as their province. The state was far more active in relation to both labour movement and education after the 1930s. And, of course, most working class activists welcomed an expansion of state provision which typically reinforced rather than eroded existing consciousness. None of this was pre-ordained, resistance and a different outcome was possible. The crucial sites for struggle were the state, the parties and the unions, not education.

To emphasise, moreover, the active and successful role of the state in securing support for certain kinds of labour education is not, as Armstrong suggests, to indulge in conspiracy theory. We can produce detailed case studies of how state economic and industrial policies contributed to moulding working class education. (McIlroy a 1990) Today, when almost all UK labour education is state funded and there is no viable alternative, such understanding is vital. If the NCLC failed to understand the opportunities available if exploited in state-funded education, the TUC's bargain with the state today takes place completely on the state's terms - as the latest episode in book banning illustrates (McIlroy b 1990).

A final point. For all its virtues IWCE from the 1930s was controlled from the top down. The TUC scheme even more so. We might borrow from Hal Draper the image of the two souls of socialist education. Unless socialist education develops organically from below and is firmly in the hands of its students, it will not succeed in developing its emancipatory potential. In the UK, from J.P.M. Millar to Norman Willis, control from above has been the dominant tradition.

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Historical Reflections on the Challenge for Labour Eduction

Michael Welton

In mid-January 1992 I managed to get observer status at the Atlantic Region Labour Education Centre (ARLEC) on "Globalization and Competitiveness." Trade union delegates from the beleaguered Maritime labour movement gathered to consider the way ahead for labour. Many interesting observations could be made, but I was struck, once again, with the depth of the split between "adult education" and "workers' education." One of the sub-texts, we academics like to say, was the bitter frustration of some working class members with university teachers. "We don't need to hear you tell us that the way out is to create political unity in the Maritimes. What can we do, right now, to stop our jobs from going down the tube?" The situation in the Maritimes seems to be this: a select few academics are permitted to speak to the workers. But essentially, academic adult education runs on its own track, and the trade unions conduct their own educational affairs. An autonomous workers' education organization like the WEA does not exist. The only university that works with labour, as part of its mandate, is St. Francis Xavier University. Only one trade union educator has ever contacted our Adult Education program at Dalhousie University. Workplace related education, for most of my students, means administering management-initiated and oriented training programs.

My argument is that "workers' education" has always been contested terrain in Canada. I do think that our Canadian adult education movement is more 2communitarian in orientation than the US. Within our tradition, we easily understand that the purpose of adult education is, in good part, the creation of equality of condition for collectivities and not just equal opportunity for individuals. "Workers' education" was not officially expunged from "adult education" in Canada. Nonetheless, the historical record in Canada suggests pretty strongly that creating an education which provides the labour movement with well-informed leaders and activists who would promote radical transformation of the social order for the benefit of all workers has been very bitterly contested by various stakeholders. In a paper, "Dangerous Knowledge: Canadian Workers' Education in the Decades of Discord" (Studies in the Education of Adults, April 1991), I tried to show just how deep the tensions among the workers' self-directed education in their spaces, university-based academics and several prophetic voices outside really was. One does have to admit that the field of adult education is bound up with questions of just whose knowledge counts as legitimate.

In this symposium I want to focus attention on a rather tricky problem. Promoting autonomous workers' education has not exactly galvanized our universities. Canadian industrial workers have always been suspicious of the "scraps of knowledge" universities seemed to offer. But often the worst enemies of autonomous workers' education have been leaders of the labour movement itself. Why is this? How do we make sense of this? This presentation, then, focuses on a critical examination of two independent workers' education associations: the Vancouver WEA and the Halifax Maritime Labour Institute. I argue that workers' education was contested terrain for the various stakeholders involved in the labour movement while at the same time facing repression by state forces. The Vancouver WEA was contested terrain in which the University of British Columbia, Communists and Social Democrats fought over the control of the organization. Moreover, a critical examination of the Maritime Labour Institute in the 1940s reveals that some well-known laders of North American workers' education (such as Mark Starr), refused to work with the Institute due to its alleged acceptance of "Communist" spakers. The Institute (and Dalhousie University) came under scrutiny by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, while the sponsoring university increasingly grew nervous with its involvement with the Institute. This cold-war hysteria is all the more interesting because the curriculum of the post-WWII Maritime Labour Institute had, in my view, clearly shifted toward a functionalist approach (workers' education to create harmonious relations between Labour and Management). It seems to be extraordinarily dangerous to allow the working class to actually think for itself. The case studies of the Vancouver WEA and the Halifax Maritime Labour Institute reveal conflicting orientations -- liberal and transformative - - at play within the tumultuous labour scene in post-WWII Canada.

Workers' Education in Canada and Britain in the 1990s.

Bruce Spencer

This overview of current provision in Britain and Canada identifies the extent, focus, state involvement, methods and future of trade union-provided workers' education.

Most workers' education, in both countries, is provided by the trade unions. In the UK the Trade Union Congress (TUC equivalent to the Canadian Labour Congress, CLC) continues to offer ten-day shop steward training courses supplemented by shorter, one- to three-day, courses and by similar, non-TUC, individual trade union schools. In Canada, the CLC supports provincial, individual union and local union, training courses, although the CLC exercises less influence over course content than is the case in TUC courses. Some Canadian unions operate their own programmes without seeking backing from the CLC. The CLC and individual Canadian unions rely largely on their own resources to provide basic training courses whereas the TUC works through selected educational providers (typically local colleges).[1]

The CLC does, however, work with university and college educators in providing higher level courses such as those in ARLEC, the Labour College of Canada and the University/Labour programme at Manitoba. The TUC, in contrast, has not supported higher level courses, including trade union certificate courses, offered by higher education institutions (beyond individual awards to trade union students attending residential colleges such as Ruskin). These broader-based "liberal" programmes draw support from individual and local UK unions and their members (for example the Transport and General Workers Union regional distance education courses).[2]

Most union education is targeted at representatives; membership education is largely an illusive goal in both countries. An exception is provided by the Canadian Auto Workers who have successfully negotiated a paid educational leave provision in many of its contracts. As a consequence the CAW is able to offer members a four-week residential course at its family education centre, Port Elgin (with a parallel provision for francophones in Quebec). The CAW-PEL programme is a model of its kind, combining elements of basic education with study of social, economic and political issues.[3]

State support for union education exists in both countries in the form of a grant to central labour organisations. In the UK this has contributed to the restrictive nature of TUC education provision, essentially industrial relations training, and has resulted in direct government interference in TUC courses. In Canada the grant permits a broader union education and the CLC and individual unions have offered a more varied programme reflecting some of the concerns addressed in inter-war workers' education (ironically, at that time, such provision was more extensive in the UK than in Canada). To date, the state grants given to Canadian unions to assist union education could be described as without strings ie similar to those given in Scandinavian countries.

There are some examples, in both countries, of workers' education which are not primarily sponsored by, or targeted at, trade unionists but these tend to be small scale. The majority of "independent" workers' education courses, concerned with social change/action are provided or supported by trade unions.

The focus of union education in the UK (particularly in TUC courses) in the 1990s is continuing to be the workplace, in Canada it is both the workplace and broader society - "tool" and "awareness" courses. Opportunities exist within both countries for institutionally based worker educators to support broader programmes and to provide educationally challenging, critical, courses capable of extending workers knowledge, insights and understandings and therefore, of informing labour and social movements' actions and demands for change (in the UK such courses would be accepted as falling within a broad definition of "liberal adult education"). We should also recognise that this is a two-way process, worker educators' teaching and scholarship benefits from the knowledge and experience of trade union students.

TUC courses have made extensive use of student-centred teaching methods with student-determined course content. But whilst this approach may be useful for introductory courses, focused on workplace problems, it has prevented more experienced students from undertaking a systematic examination of the social, political and economic context of trade unionism. This broader educational experience, which has also utilised active teaching methods, has been provided outside of the TUC programme. In Canada an extreme methods-as-content approach has been avoided and the CLC has continued to recognise the importance of both tool-training and broader education, as provided by the Labour College of Canada and some provincially supported union/university programmes.[4] In both countries there are opportunities for joint union/educational provider initiatives to extend workers' education provision via distance learning and other alternative delivery systems, and to grant credit for union education. If these trends continue, trade union students will be able to access tool, awareness and credit courses so as to better inform their labour movement, socio-political and individual actions. Adult educators will also be strengthened from their re-connection to union and social activists: these trends point towards an "independent working class education" for the twenty-first century.

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2. B Spencer **Distance Education in British Trade Unions: Some Preliminary Results** Research in Distance Education vol 3 no 1 1991

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Issues in Adult Literacy and Basic Education: A Case Study Approach

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Abstract

This study presents a qualitative exploration of issues in adult literacy in Canada. Using a participatory research design, nineteen case studies were conducted and categorized under five major themes: community building, facilitating adult learning in basic education, active student participation, language and culture, and workplace. Cette étude se veut une exploration qualitative des problèmes liés à l'alphabétisation des adultes au Canada. Utilisant un concept de recherche-participation, dix-neuf études de cas ont été menées, puis réparties en cinq thèmes majeurs : l'organisation de la vie en société; la facilitation de l'apprentissage de base chez l'adulte; la participation active de l'apprenant; la langue et la culture, et le milieu de travail.

Introduction

The adult literacy problem in Canada has become an issue of monumental importance. It is a concern that has indisuptable bearing on the maintenance of social stability, the values of its citizenship and the lives of adults whose basic skills are deficient. Although the number of adults now receiving some form of literacy instruction has increased over the last few years, there is an urgent need to increase levels of participation. As strategies are now being formulated and partnerships developed, there still exists a paucity of Canadian research to draw upon in adult litercy and basic education. One of the limitations of existing research is that it has failed to give practitioners a voice in describing and analyzing the problems and issues of the field.

The purpose of this study was to document ways by which practitioners and other participants in adult literacy deal with issues and solve problems. It was intended to provide a voice for people in the field of basic education to express and reflect upon their concerns and to become engaged in open discussion about some of the issues which characterize this evolving field. In this study, the term issue was meant to mean a point in question or a matter that is in dispute, the decision of which, in either case, is of special or public importance. Another objective of this first extensive study of issues on adult literacy in Canada was to make a link between the way in which people solve problems and some of the basic principles of adult education in order to develop materials that would be useful in training.

Methodology

The design for this study evolved over time, as it was influenced by practitioners and others in the field. From the beginning however, and throughout, the study was guided by highly valued principles. For example, it was always intended that the project would be participatory. Practitioners were encouraged to take ownership of the project and feel that they could influence it. In addition, the documentation would, as much as possible, reflect the actual words of the practitioners, and the case studies would go beyond being merely descriptive. It was felt that it was important that wherever possible, tutors, instructors, students, program coordinators and board members of agencies would be interviewed. As well the study would encourage people to reflect on their experiences with a view to learning from them. Part of the learning was to know how to be more effective in implementing a participatory approach to research in the area of adult literacy and basic education.

Presentation of the Case Studies

Documenting the ways in which issues are dealt with touches on many elements. It touches on the ways in which people describe their programs and the teaching methodologies used. It also touches on how recruiting and the training of tutors and staff is accomplished, and the extent to which the adult student or program are the focus of attention. Most practitioners would agree that all literacy education and training programs are comprised of more than the function of teaching. Components such as training, material production, research and evaluation, planning, counselling, the development of a support system, administration, and policy-making have a distinct presence in the culture of a program. Each issue in the study shows the complexity of these inter-relating components and how people are managing to understand how they all fit together as a whole for effective delivery.

Nineteen case studies were documented throughout the major regions of Canada and categorized under five themes - Community Building, Facilitating Adult Learning in Basic Education, Active Student Participation, Language and Culture and Workplace. Although not exhaustive, some of the important issues perceived by people in the field, to name a few, included: the integration of literacy services through volunteers in libraries and museums; challenges of training literacy practitioners for community-based settings; the use of peer-tutoring in classrooms; learner participation in program management; the whole approach to native literacy; the use of theatre to inform people about welfare; the preservation of Franco-Ontarian language and culture and linking literacy with the workplace.

Together the case studies of issues make a number of contributions to the field of practice and research. First, the case studies show how these issues are defined, described or dealt with by those in the field. Second, they serve as valuable material for pre-service or inservice training of paid and unpaid workers in the field. Discussion questions and commentary sections developed for many of the case studies further enhance their value of training. Thirdly, it is hoped that readers will be stimulated to reflect on their own experience and feelings, from which further discussion will come. All this in turn is extended to draw attention to some of those principles, cited in the literature of adult education, which implicitly or explicitly guide the practice of education.

For the purpose of this paper, the commentary on the theme area "Active Student Participation" will serve to illustrate how four case studies have been viewed through some of the guiding principles found in the adult literacy literature. Although it is not possible to provide an account of any one case study here, the reader will observe how the different issues described can be analyzed through a common set of principles. The following section was adapted from Draper, J., Taylor, M., and Goldgrab, S. (1991). Issues in Adult Literacy and Basic Education: Canada. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Active Student Participation

Many people would agree that literacy programs in Canada must reach a far larger number of people than they have been able to reach in the last few years. Along with this belief, there has also been a growing awareness that literacy students prefer active roles as users of education instead of recipients of education. Based on this need for learner - controlled literacy efforts, practitioners are now involved in a more intense discussion on how to encourage active student participation. Often this discussion is prefaced by concerns such as "How do I deal with resistance to active participation? How do I help students take responsibility for their own learning whether it be in program instruction or program management? and How do I decrease the feelings of failure for students in unfamiliar activities?" Although these questions are not easily answered, a framework to guide a much fuller debate may be useful at this stage. In this section of the report several principles are discussed which may help point the way for increasing opportunities for active student participation - examining a program's statement of purpose, providing consistent student support, developing student training opportunities and communicating feelings of ownership.

For practitioners who want to encourage active student participation, a basic principle may involve examining the manner in which the program's statement of purpose has been written. Taken together, statements of mission, philosophy, expected results for its learners and expected community results make up a statement of purpose and can provide the framework to build student involvement into program instruction and management. In the CORE program described in "Active Student Participation" and the Dialogue Project in "Tearing Down Paper Walls", a clearly written statement of purpose included what the learner population needed and wanted and how they were going to be involved in the operation and management of the program and literacy activity. Through such guiding statements, students were provided with opportunities to become engaged as partners in the learning process. They were consulted in the selection of evaluation methods, the content of tutor training, the development of learning plans and the range of community awareness activities. In the case of the Dialogue Project, a statement of expected community results provided the fuel to activate student participation. It referred to the results both the community and specific constituency group of social decision makers were to experience. A statement of purpose can be viewed as a building block for actively encouraging student involvement. As indicated in the case study "Sharing Power and Authority", some of these statements changed over time to invite and nurture student participation in program management. Once the program had developed its own personality, it followed that students could realistically become involved in its ownership, control and purpose.

Another key ingredient for encouraging active participation is the importance of **consistent adult student support**. This may be done in a variety of ways. In the case studies "Literacy Training as a Key" and "Active Student Participation", the overall design of the structure and operations of the program ensured that the concerns of the students were central. In some respects "job descriptions" describing the student's role on the different committees helped them to define what was expected of them and their co-workers. A similar situation occurred in "Sharing Power and Authority" where students were well aware of their responsibilities on the various standing committees. The reader will observe that in both the CORE program and the CLE program mechanisms were built in to encourage the participation of students in all phases of program planning and operation. As described in all case studies, another way of providing consistent adult student support is through the development of opportunities for intereactions with other students, instructors and managers. Such activities included the grand dialogue in "Tearing Down Paper Walls", the Christmas Party Committee in "Sharing Power and Authority" and the newsletter - The Write Stuff in "Active Student Participation". In these types of activities the program staff and instructors supported the students by accompanying them as advocates on relevant issues or by extensions of friendship. On this same point of providing consistent support as a means for encouraging participation, all four case studies stress the importance of recognizing the achievements of students as they take the risk of becoming further involved in program management. As students begin to feel a readiness for these new kinds of learning behaviors, staff should take every opportunity to acknowledge their commitment, good rapport with others or good time management skills.

Developing training opportunities for students who take on new roles is a third guideline for encouraging student participation. If active participation in literacy education enhances the personal development of individuals to change the communities within which they live, some type of training is required for this to occur. As students move through different roles in a program, providing an orientation, or pre-service or in-service training may be necessary. Many of the obstacles for actively becoming involved in literacy education which are mentioned in the four case studies relate to a lack of training.

Depending on the skill level of the individual and types of desired roles, various training orientations might provide opportunities to learn about the program purpose and expectations of involvement. It may also allow students to make an informed choice about whether to commit their time and energy to the program. As well, pre-service training could also include public speaking, fund development, recruiting and other program responsibilities. In three case studies "Tearing Down Paper Walls, Active Student Participation, and Sharing Power and Authority" there appears to be a need for student job specific in-service training. This type of on-going education is important for maintaining skills and morale, for the exchange of ideas, for problem solving and for learning new skills. With such an approach to staff development, students may have been able to deal with the reading and writing requirements of board meetings and working with differing backgrounds and experiences in committees.

Another principle which encourages active student participation is creating the kind of communication among participants that engenders feelings of ownership of the program and its outcomes. The reader will note that each of the case studies demonstrate how feelings of ownership are enhanced when participants are included in decisions that affect them, when a feeling of quality prevails, when people get what they need and when the purposes of the program are fulfilled. Feelings of ownership stem from a variety of planned actions such as an avoidance of the traditional top-down form of management. As can be seen from the description of CORE, Journeys and CLE and the Dialogue Project, these literacy activities purposely set out to empower adult students to share in the governance of the literacy initiative.

Concluding Comments

In the final report, the many case studies presented have implicitly or explicitly touched on a wide variety of issues relating to adult literacy and basic education. For example, in another section of the report "Facilitating Adult Learning in Basic Education" four case studies focused on some of the following principles: recognizing the importance of self-esteem concerns; understanding that adults engage in literacy activities to enhance their proficiencies; the importance of building supportive and challenging learning environments and the significance of praxis. In the section "Workplace" three case studies further suggest that knowing the structure of a workplace organization, understanding the rationale for conducting a situational analysis, negotiating a contract and evaluating a program in a circular process are guiding principles for effective practice.

Together the nineteen case studies are an indication of the major concerns literacy programs have, the creative strategies that they employ and the new educational methodologies in the field. Due to internal or external forces there are challenges to be met, different viewpoints which need to be dealt with, limited resources which need to be priorized and alternative ways of reaching goals which require discussion. The effectiveness of a literacy program is greatly dependent on the extent to which issues are defined, discussed and problems solved. These functions, in turn, help determine good or exemplary practice. Involving people in the issues at hand can be challenging, however, they greatly help to enrich the practice and study of literacy education.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND THE LAW - NEW PERSPECTIVES

A SYMPOSIUM

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The Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education

Saskatoon, 1992

Abstract

The systematic examination of legislation related to adult education in Canada demands increasing attention. The decline in government financial resources is prompting greater dependence on legislation to reach specific goals. Categories for examining legislation are presented against a background of specific federal examples. CASAE needs a special section devoted to this area of study.

La situation contemporaine de Canada demande de plus en plus attention aux les lois qui determinent l'education des adultes. Le diminution des ressources financialles des toutes gouvernements se demande de plus en plus confiance en legislation pour achever les objectives specifique. Dans un contexte des exemples Federales, on presente quelques categories pour l'analyse des lois. Il est urgent que le CASAE etablit une section pour telles etudes.

Canadian adult educators are perhaps growing tired of being nagged about their relative lack of interest in the legislative foundations of adult education in Canada. Nevertheless - one is tempted to use "notwithstanding" - the urgency to develop systematically this area of study and analysis increases almost daily. The renewed interest in the law, particularly that area represented by the courts and the judiciary, stimulated by the passage of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* a decade ago, has been intensified by our constitutional anguish. If something resembling a "social charter", which will inevitably include reference to "rights to education" is included in a new constitution, what references should it contain to the education of adults? Are we ready to make intelligent recommendations? Does our putative "stewardship" of adult education demand that we should be ready to do so?

On more familiar ground, the relative insolvency of most governments, has impelled them to resort to legislative rather than financial means of direction and control. The political leger-de-main involved in the federal government's financial withdrawal from Unemployment Insurance, combined with continued direction of "training" is a case in point illustrated in detail by Susan Witter. The trickling down of this practice to the provincial level, as manifested in the proposed Ontario Training and Adjustment Board, comes close to a form of "taxation without representation". All of this is taking place in the name of the education/training of adults.

There are a variety of approaches to the study of legislation affecting us, helpfully elaborated by Kaireen Chaytor. All three of us, I expect, would agree that the very first and last requirement is the willingness to engage in "close reading". As Haldane observes, "But my lords, all we are permitted to look at is the language used. If it has a natural meaning we cannot depart from that meaning, unless, reading the statute as a whole, directs us to do so."

Researching Legislation - Kaireen Chaytor

Despite the influential role of federal legislation on the practice of adult education, debate among adult educators has seldom been concerned with the origins of legislation, what interests it advances (or undermines) or how its effects will be evaluated. The need to study federal legislation as one of the major forces shaping adult education in Canada is supported by recent literature.

Griffin (1987) suggests that the practice of adult education has experienced a move from social movement to professional practice, leaving it with mainly a service orientation. The move has generally removed adult education from the policy process - from dealing with public policy analysis - and depoliticized its concerns. Griffin's view is that the agenda is now set *for*, rather than by, adult educators.

Finch (1984, 1986) also provides some understanding of the removal of adult education practice from the policy process. She examined the extent to which social benefits take precedence over individual benefits in their appeals for legislation. Adult education proposals and reports tend to focus on individual rather than social policy benefits. Finch found very little evidence of such recommendations being translated into legislation. What is more interesting is her observation that the kind of information produced by traditional forms of adult education does not speak to the information needs of government. She demonstrated a contrast in ways of knowing which causes us to ask, how can the experience of adult education influence a legislative level.

House (1991) also suggests a need for the study of legislation in adult education. He pointed out in the United States how educational policies are connected with major economic problems, and how educational research *follows* educational policies - promoting, helping, or assessing the policies as is necessary. House's claim that research funding only follows reforms, Griffin's position that adult education practice mainly serves social policy, together with Finch's point that knowledge from the educational experience seldom informs policy making, suggests the need for research around legislation pertaining to adult education.

Diagnosing Legislation

Legislation pertaining to adult education in Canada has been introduced as a remedy for social problems, especially employment problems. The legislation can be studied for its background and assumptions; its content; and accommodation by, or implications for, existing programs and plans.

Investigating the *background* of legislation requires looking at the assumptions on which the legislation is based and what it plans to accomplish. With the tendency for legislation to deal with technical aspects of relationships, the theoretical aspects of the legislation are left implicit. Study of background research justifying the actions, committee and parliamentary debates, main estimates and public accounts of the federal government, can contribute to an understanding of the important assumptions underlying legislation.

The *content* of the act is partly about the activities and programs to be undertaken, and it is partly about the powers assigned various parties. The assigning of powers is perhaps the more important part of the content. Each piece of legislation on adult education in Canada written by the federal government has increased authority at the federal level. One is required to attend to phrases such as, "The federal government *may* ..." (giving it the power), with "the provincial government *shall*" (assigning it specific duties). Studying regulations under several acts and related regulation may be necessary to understand the content of any one act.

The response or the *accommodation* to federal legislation by provincial governments or affected agencies demands investigation. Do they respond by taking on the priorities of the federal government, and possibly abandoning social and political concerns of their own? Does adult education practice then support the social priorities enshrined in legislation? What are the consequences on regional and local needs?

Bringing the Study of Legislation to the Research Agenda

Discussing legislation may at first appear difficult for the non-specialist in economics, trade or constitutional law. Adult educators can engage by looking at the theories on which the legislation is based, the content of the legislation and its fit into the present plan. The research question in adult education tends to centre on adequacy or inadequacy of provision. What constitutes good practice is important. Is it not also important to study how the state determines the forms of adult education that will constitute practice?

The Legislation-Practice Connection - Susan Witter

The practice of adult education, whether in the public, private or voluntary sector, is highly influenced by federal and provincial legislation. Adult educators rely heavily on delivery systems, funding sources, and program priorities to develop and implement their occupational training programs. The delivery, funding and program focus of adult education is shaped almost exclusively by the policies and priorities that flow from the federal and provincial legislation.

The most recent adult occupational training act, the National Training Act (1982), has initiated several important bills and strategies that have a strong impact on adult education practice.

For example, the Canada Jobs Strategy (CJS) of 1985 authorized the federal government to increase control over the delivery agents of training. With the introduction of CJS, the federal government reduced its priority in supporting the provincial educational institutions (colleges/institutes) in favour of the private and voluntary sector. The Labour Force Development Strategy (LFDS) of 1989, extended this mandate and allowed the private sector to enjoy a greater role in the provision of training for employed and unemployed Canadians. This shift has impacted the role of the public and private sector adult educator in their development and delivery of adult occupational training programs.

The recent Bill C21, an act to revise the Unemployment Insurance Act (1991) authorizes the federal government to use 800 million dollars, extracted from the UI fund for new labour market training programs. UI recipients can now participate in training courses while continuing to receive their income support benefits. These programs include: vocational training to provide occupational skills, apprenticeship, language and basic skills training, including literacy. A new policy within Bill C21 is that UI learners may be permitted to arrange and organize their own training. This approach offers more flexibility to the learner, thus adult education practitioners will be expected to develop more flexibility in the delivery and development of their training programs.

As an illustration of how federal legislation translates into specific program policy and priorities, that in turn influence adult education practice, the most recent federal legislation, the Unemployment Insurance Act, has given priority to new programs initiatives such as: cooperative education, "stay in school" initiative, self-employment initiatives, aboriginal-managed employment programs and immigrant language training. The goals of my own Continuing Education Department have changed significantly over the last few years in order to access the above mentioned federal program priorities. If our Continuing Education Department did not understand federal and provincial legislation and the resulting policy changes in occupational training, the learner could be short-changed, due to programs that did not reflect the current labour market needs, funding priorities that we were not aware of, or new delivery systems that were not in place.

Since legislation governing the training of adults in Canada, is not well understood by most adult educators, few would recognize the importance of studying its impact on the direction of adult education practice in Canada. To create a critical voice of its own, adult education must include in its practice an understanding of the influencing legislation. The challenge presented is to understand the legislation-practice connection and to pass on this understanding and newly developed training programs to the adult learner.

The analysis of the new training developments clearly, for us at least, establishes the need for new and enlarged attention to the law that affects us. Though consideration of the proper relationship between "learning" and "law", prompts broader excursions and eventually philosophical considerations, there is much to be done with the more practical and urgent implications of specific statutes at all levels of government in Canada. Perhaps it is a residual modesty that makes us underestimate the significance of these statutes and the programs flowing from them in all aspects of the lives of adult Canadians. Think, for example, of the degree to which compulsory school legislation for the young has dictated the annual rhythm of Canadian life. Something of the same can be detected in the increasing forays of all levels of Canadian government into the control and direction of adult learning.

Not only do we need the analytic "firepower" generated by students and scholars, we need some means to make the systematic review of legislation regularly available to practitioners. Chaytor's categories for analysis need to be expanded and tested. Witter's work with training legislation needs to be supported and circulated as widely as possible. Clearly there is a universe of both theoretical and practical import here. A special section of

CASAE would be a useful place to start.

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Exploring the Boundaries of Adult Education: the potential of partnerships with non-traditional agencies

Alistair Thomson

Abstract

The cutting edge of development in British adult education has often been wielded by innovative local organisations - community groups, voluntary associations and social movements. I will explore several past and present examples, and highlight their influential role upon innovation in terms of subjects, methods and access for educationally disadvantaged adults.

Les groupes ls plus innovateurs dans l'enseignement des adultes en Grande Bretagne ont souvent ete des groupements communautaires, des organisations benevoles et des mouvements sociaux. Je citerai plusieurs models tires du passe et de l'epoque actuelle. Je mets en relief le role qu'ils juvent dans le developpement de matieres et methodes nouvelles et j'examine comment ces associations ont facilite l'enseignement surtout des etudiants d'age mur desavantages.

The cutting edge of new development in British adult education has, historically, been wielded by innovative and responsive local organisations as much as by formal instititutions and statutory provision. Non-traditional agencies - community groups, voluntary associations or social movements - have throughout the century been a haven for adult learners who for whatever reason have been wary of the more traditional institutions. They have offered accessible venues and informal, non-threatening learning situations. Inspired by the particular needs of specific groups or localities, they have provided educational opportunities in novel or topical fields of study, often well before they are taken up by the mainstream. And when mainstream provision has become elitist or irrelevant, partnerships with other agencies have offered a new and more vital terrain of subjects, methods and students.

For example, the two decades around the turn of the last century were exhilarating years for British working class adult education. Education was a key tool in the struggle for social and industrial emancipation by the resurgent labour and socialist movement, which spawned an extraordinary array of classes and study groups. For university liberals, adult education was the way to extend higher education beyond the walls, and to ensure that the rising class, or at least its leaders, would be educated for citizenship. The Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.), founded in 1903, drew university and working class adult educators together, and gave organisational coherence and strength to the ferment of workers' education. By the outbreak of war in 1914 it had attracted an astonishing number of affiliated voluntary organisations, including trade unions, Co-operative Committees, Working Men's Clubs and Study Circles. The workers' education movement pioneered a number of educational innovations. Joint university and W.E.A. committees provided appropriate tutors for the courses requested by affiliated associations and W.E.A. branches. The syllabus was negotiated between tutor and students, with an emphasis upon teaching which was relevant to the experiences and interests of participants. The three year Tutorial Class, which required regular essays from students, became a favoured, influential model for adult education.

This educational revival, which was largely the fruit of collaboration between universities and voluntary organisations, provided an inspiration for the 1919 Report of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction. The authors of the Report were concerned that voluntary effort should not be stifled by local or central government control. They proposed that county-based joint university and voluntary association committees should coordinate liberal adult education provision, and that public funding should go to any voluntary providers of quality adult education, regardless of political or religious affiliation. Yet economic cutbacks and the opposition of the Board of Education and the local education authorities nipped these proposals in the bud. Under regulations of 1924 only a limited number of 'Responsible Bodies' - including university extra-mural departments, the W.E.A., the Y.M.C.A. and the Educational Settlements Association - were funded by central government to provide 'non-vocational' liberal adult education.

In the inter-war years the university and W.E.A. partnership dominated adult education, though there were rumblings about a new traditionalism, and about the limits in form and subject of its offerings. The arch rival of the W.E.A. was the National Council of Labour Colleges, a movement for independent working class adult education which believed that public funding compromised working class independence, and which promoted an avowedly Marxist curriculum. At its peak in 1926 before the failure of the General Strike, the movement offered adult education classes to more than 30,000 students.

A rather different critique was offered by W.E. Williams in his 1934 publication, *The Auxiliaries of Adult Education*. Williams argued that the tutorial class movement was in decline because the adult students to whom it had offered an educational lifeline now had better access to schooling and higher education, and because its three year format and rigorous academic syllabus was too arduous for many potential adult learners. By contrast, the new 'auxiliaries' of adult education - voluntary associations such as the Women's Institute and Townswomen's Guild, the Councils of Social Service and Rural Community Councils, the Drama League and the Council for the Preservation of Rural England - often offered more accessible, flexible and appropriate educational opportunities.The more innovative extra-mural departments and W.E.A. branches (as well as some local authorities) created educational partnerships with these new auxiliaries, and were revitalised by fresh subjects, methods and students for adult education. The unemployment crisis of the 1930s was, as in the 1980s, one especially important spur for new educational collaborations.

The 1944 Education Act, which created the post-war structure for adult education, empowered local authorities to support voluntary association providers, but it did so in very unspecific terms. Concern about the ossification of mainstream adult education intensified in the 1950s. The W.E.A. was entrenched within traditional institutional boundaries, and the extra-mural departments were hampered by traditions of academic respectability and elitism. Once again, radical adult educators looked to work with non-traditional, voluntary partners as a way of widening the bounds of adult education. In the late 1960s and early 1970s radical, community-based adult education took up the challenge. Pioneers like Tom Lovett in Liverpool argued that traditional adult education was off-putting for many working class people, and instead offered non-formal classes on subjects of direct relevance in accessible local venues. The new agenda included welfare rights groups, talks about parenting, community arts and pub discussions. Inter-agency collaboration - between local groups, education authorities and university adult educators - was vital.

Though such ventures were much criticised by traditionalists, in 1973 the Russell Report on adult education emphasised the value of 'outreach' and community initiatives, and proposed that they be incorporated into the structure of adult education. The timing of the Russell Report was unfortunate. The funding cuts and political reversals of the late 1970s and 1980s imposed terrible pressures upon both the mainstream of adult education and its voluntary fringe, and stifled innovation. Yet new opportunities and collaborations continued to emerge, often driven by and against political conservatism and its consequences. Two of the most exciting developments in the last decade have been Pioneer Work in Leeds and the Valleys Initiative for Adult Education in South Wales.

Mass unemployment was the spur for the 'Pioneer Work' of adult educators at Leeds University in the north of England. The Leeds Department of Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies had a tradition of inter-agency collaboration in work with trade unionists and educationally disadvantaged adults. In 1982, at the height of a recession which was particularly severe in the north of the country, the Department initiated Pioneer Work as an educational programme for the unemployed. The programme was largely funded by specific grants, initially from the Department of Education and Science, and subsequently from other external sources including local authorities and the urban aid scheme of the European Social Fund. The unemployed target group was defined very broadly to include unemployed workers, working class women who were not registered as unemployed, men and women over the retirement age, and members of ethnic communities (strongly represented in the region).

In its first year Pioneer Work generated 112 free courses with 1361 students. The programme was dependent on extensive networking within local communities and with appropriate local organisations - including unemployed centres, community centres and tenants' associations - and courses were set up in collaboration with these groups and organisations. This local collaboration provided essential word of mouth publicity. It also helped to ensure that courses were appropriate in terms of subject matter (usually issues of direct relevance to the participants, such as welfare advice, health and well-being or local history) and teaching approach (group discussion more than tutor-centred teaching), and that they were were based in familiar local venues and run at suitable times. From the outset the Pioneer Work programme was monitored very closely; indeed this research component was one justification for university involvement in what some critics dismissed as 'basic education' unsuitable for academic involvement. On-going, participatory research enabled Pioneer Work to improve its programme, and to disseminate a model of good practice which has achieved a national and international reputation.

Pioneer Work has faced many issues. There have been subtle forms of resistance from within the university, and the insecurity bred by short term, external funding has caused staffing and planning difficulties. The particular nature of Pioneer Work has also generated specific staff development and support needs. Yet the continued success of the programme has proved that a latent desire for adult education can be met through collaboration with non-traditional partner groups. For participants that success has been registered in terms of progression to other educational opportunities, and in terms of increased confidence and awareness and a heightening of community activism. In recent years Pioneer Work courses have spawned voluntary networks which are shaping adult educational provision for their particular communities. They have also begun to encourage community education to develop into community enterprise and employment. Through local collaboration a university adult education programme has thus seeded a movement for individual and community development.

The coal mining communities in the valleys of South Wales are justly famous for a tradition of independent working class adult education. But adult education in the valleys has taken new forms now that the pits are closed and the communities of the valleys are creating a future without coal mining. For example, the DOVE Workshop (Dulais Opportunities for Voluntary Enterprise) in Banwen at the top of the Dulais Valley north east of Swansea, grew out of a miners' support group during the strike of 1984-85. The group was particularly concerned about the difficulties faced by local women who wanted to develop new skills and employment opportunities. Hoping to establish a machine knitting co-operative, they realised that they needed additional training. The nearest colleges at the bottom of the valleys were virtually inaccessible for women because of childcare commitments and inadequate public transport. So they decided to provide their own training within the community, backed up by a creche and, eventually, a minibus service.

The venture proved popular in Banwen and surrounding villages, and courses diversified to include word processing and information technology, photography and video production, poetry and women's health. The Women in Technology course (WIT) developed into a People in Technology (PIT) course enrolling men as well as women - including ex-miners and several couples - and reduced initial male hostility to the venture. Traditional adult education providers - including the Department of Adult Continuing Education at University College Swansea, the further education college in Neath and the W.E.A. - provided courses in partnership with the Workshop, including an outreach Access course which has had a huge local enrolment from adults with few formal educational qualifications who want a bridge into higher education. Since 1989 local authority and European urban aid funding has paid for workers to coordinate the expanding programme of courses, and to support community businesses which have developed in tandem with training.

The experiences and development of the DOVE Workshop are echoed in many of the other valleys of South Wales. The Valleys Initiative for Adult Education (VIAE), established in 1988, provides a network for more than eighty voluntary and statutory organisations concerned with the role of adult education in the survival and development of valleys' communities. VIAE's activities include advocacy and consultancy for adult education in the valleys, and advice and information dissemination for member groups. It also coordinates several single issue working groups which focus on issues including educational guidance, staff development and European Community initiatives.

The Department of Adult Continuing Education at University College Swansea plays an important supporting role in these initiatives. A philosophy of access and community participation - derived from and informed by the South Wales traditions of working class adult education - informs all aspects of the Department's work. European money helps to put that philosophy into practice, for example by funding an Adult Guidance Unit which provides information and advice for potential adult learners both in Swansea and in their own communities. The Department regards the outlying centres in the Valleys as essential for the achievement of both educational access and community development. As the director Hywel Francis claims: 'As is often the case the most innovative and exciting work takes place in the community, invariably through voluntary organisations. This should not be surprising as they have the greatest experience and have the most knowledge of the needs of individuals and communities'. The Department supports the centres through course provision (both liberal and vocational, though the distinction is not stressed), and by providing books in branches of the South Wales Miners' Library based at each centre. Proposals for part-time degree courses based at the centres suggest that the dream of a Community University of the Valleys is beginning to be achieved.

Collaboration between mainstream and non-traditional adult education providers, and the crucial role it has played throughout the century in making adult education more broad-based and accessible, is currently threatened by the British government's attempts to 'rationalise' adult education. A Further and Higher Education Bill will shift power and funding from local government education authorities to unelected Funding Councils, but will leave non-vocational 'leisure' or 'liberal' education with the less well funded local authorities. The local authorities may not have the money, and the Funding Councils may not have a commitment, to support adult education collaborations with voluntary, non-traditional providers. Not surprisingly, voluntary associations such as the Women's Institute have been among the most vociferous opponents of government plans. History suggests that voluntary associations may well survive to remain a cutting edge of adult education, but that without their collaboration the new Funding Councils and revamped Further Education sector will be blunt instruments.

In my talk at the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education conference I will outline this British history of past and present partnerships with non-traditional adult education agencies. I will be interested to learn about comparable Canadian experiences, both historical (such as the Antigonish movement in the 1920s) and contemporary. And I will be keen to discuss the issues which arise from this approach to adult education. What is the value and potential of such collaboration, in widening the subjects and methods of adult education, and making it more accessible to educationally disadvantaged adults? Should university adult education be involved in this work? What are the problems of short term funding, and how have new sources of money (for example from Europe) opened up new horizons? What are the tensions within collaboration? Has it been possible to develop partnerships with voluntary organisations in which power is equally shared, and which do not stifle voluntary initiative? How does this collaborative work challenge traditional boundaries between education and training, between education and community enterprise, and between individual and community development?

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The Relationship Between Learning Styles and Differential Performance on Verbal Learning Tasks by Adult Students

Le Rapport Entre Les Styles d'Apprentissage et d'Accomplissement Différentiel sur les Tâches d'Apprentissage Verbales par les Adultes (élèves)

Charlotte Webb Farr
Norma Decker Collins

Abstract

It is the purpose of this paper to report on a study examining the mechanisms by which adults acquire vocabulary and to explore the relationship between adults' ability to acquire vocabulary and their method of processing information.

Le but de ce travail est de présenter une étude sur les mécanisms par lesquels les adultes acquièrent leur vocabulaire, et de'explorer les rapports entre les aptitudes des adultes pour acquerir leur vocabulaire et leur méthode pour traiter l'information.

Since 1923 when Spearman pointed out the importance of vocabulary to intelligence by suggesting it was probably the single best predictor of general intelligence and, hence, academic achievement, vocabulary has played a prominent role in educational measurement. In fact, the major individual test of adult intelligence, the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, has vocabulary as a principal component. Yet an adult's vocabulary is not primarily the result of direct instruction. On the contrary, "the vocabulary that is directly taught is apt to be the vocabulary that is most likely to be forgotten" (Sternberg, 1987, p. 184).

This circumstance creates a dilemma for adult educators which cannot be ignored. That vocabulary is important, but not easily taught directly, implies that there is nothing educators can do for those with poor vocabulary skills. To resolve the dilemma necessitates an honest appraisal of the issue of vocabulary acquisition and a concerted effort to understand, articulate, and address the factors that contribute to vocabulary instruction.

Purpose

Therefore, it is the purpose of this paper to report on a study examining the mechanisms by which adults acquire vocabulary and to explore the relationship between adults' ability to acquire vocabulary and their method of processing information.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical foundations behind the conceptualization of this study are based upon ideas emanating from cognitive psychology, particularly the work of Sternberg (1985, 1986, 1987). Fundamental to this work is the assumption that intelligence is a constructive process, involving interaction between the individual and the environment and the integration of his/her perceptions with knowledge stored in long-term memory.

In his Triarchic Theory of Intelligence, Sternberg (1985) suggests that intelligence is composed of three elements: contextual, experiential, and componential. These elements correspond to the fact that intelligence is relative to a specific sociocultural context, that individuals' experiences differ within that context, and that several information processing components are represented in intelligence, respectively. Sternberg proposes three information processing components: metacomponents, performance components, and knowledge-acquisition components. It is with the last of these that this paper is most concerned.

The three knowledge-acquisition components, selective encoding, selective comparison, and selective combination, are the processes used in learning new information. Selective encoding is the ability to separate relevant from irrelevant information in a task. Selective comparison is the ability to relate old and new information. Selective combination is the ability to combine the information in some meaningful and appropriate way. "When an individual encounters an unknown word, in text or in conversation, it is necessary to determine what cues are available from the context (selective encoding), to draw from memory any pertinent information regarding either the cues or the word, such as other contexts in which the word was used (selective comparison), and to synthesize this information in order to ascertain the lexical meaning of the word (selective combination) (Farr & Moore, 1989, p. 17).

Despite the fact that vocabulary is a very strong predictor of intelligence, there is not a one-to-one correlation between vocabulary acquisition and intelligence, as currently measured. This is so because there are other factors involved in vocabulary acquisition besides knowledge-acquisition components. For example, sociocultural environment influences which words a child is exposed to, as well as how much vocabulary acquisition is valued, and, thus, how motivated an individual is to learn new words.

This last point is critical because it illustrates two aspects of the dilemma adult educators face. 1) Some individuals are more inclined, because of their sociocultural environment, to learn vocabulary. 2) Consequently, some individuals are more inclined to learn in general. Vocabulary is a reflection of what one has learned, but also it affects what one is able to learn. In other words, vocabulary itself empowers one to learn. This makes understanding the processes by which individuals acquire vocabulary all the more important.

Werner and Kaplan (1967) were among the first to develop a task meant to assess the processes by which individuals acquire vocabulary. In their paradigm, subjects were given a neologism (imaginary word) followed by six sentences utilizing that word. Using contextual cues, the subjects were asked to infer the meaning of the word from the way it was used in the six sentences. The results of their study indicate that subjects tended to make different kinds of errors on the task, depending on their skill level.

Van Daalen-Kaptiejns and Elshout-Mohr (1981) expanded the work of Werner and Kaplan by having subjects state out loud the thinking processes they were going through as they tried to define the words. Their work confirmed the fact that performance level was a factor, that low verbals tended to use different strategies than high verbals in performing the task. Their work also confirmed the fact that one of the characteristics which distinguished high verbals from low verbals was the ability to decontextualize, or to focus on the lexical meaning of the words. For example, high verbals would read each sentence and adjust their conjecture as to the meaning of the word depending on the meaning suggested by each ensuing sentence. Low verbals would substitute a synonym for the neologism in the first sentence and then continue to use that synonym even if it meant changing the meaning of the following sentences.

The notion that processing strategies differentiated high verbals from low verbals led to this study. In looking for some possible factors that would account for these differences, the authors recalled Schmeck and others' work on learning styles. Schmeck posits that individuals tend to rely on certain learning strategies regardless of the specific demands of the learning tasks. Although, he outlines four styles, only two were considered here because of the similarity between them and the description of the strategies detailed in van Daalen-Kaptiejns and Elshout-Mohr. Notably, those who tend to expand on information and relate it to their own personal experiences and/or to concrete ideas are said to be elaborators; those who critically analyze and classify information are said to be deep processors.

Two themes which surface in all of the vocabulary studies is the concept of context and level of performance. This study explores both of those themes. Looking first at context, Sternberg suggests that vocabulary is acquired tacitly, in the context of our experiences. Werner and Kaplan have shown that individuals vary in the degree to which they are able to use that context to learn, and van Daalen-Kapteijns and Elshout-Mohr suggest this is due to the way they process information.

Looking at performance level, as has already been mentioned, types of errors differed depending on the verbal skill level of the subjects. This makes sense in light of a study by Marshalek (1981) indicating that younger subjects may have partial concepts of words and that vocabulary acquisition is a gradual process, occurring over time. Particularly pertinent to this argument is the finding by Marshalek that reasoning ability is related to vocabulary at the lower end of the vocabulary difficulty distribution, but not at the higher end. In other words, a certain level of reasoning ability is necessary in order to decontextualize word meaning, but beyond that it does not make a difference; other factors come into play at the higher level of vocabulary difficulty distribution.

This study anticipates the possibility that these reasoning skills can be explicitly taught (Sternberg, 1986) and seeks to gather evidence supporting or refuting these claims.

Methods

The study was a descriptive study correlating performance by adult students on three measures: an assessment of vocabulary acquisition, a learning styles inventory, and a vocabulary test used to predict performance on standardized achievement tests. The two vocabulary tests are distinguished from one another in that the former is indicative of the process by which vocabulary is acquired and the latter is indicative of the product of vocabulary acquisition. It was hypothesized that there would be a positive linear relationship between the tendency to process information deeply and/or elaboratively and the ability to acquire vocabulary, and that both of these would be related to actual vocabulary knowledge.

Subjects. The subjects were pre-service education majors and inservice teachers enrolled as graduate students in education at a medium sized college in the rural west. They were selected on the basis of convenience sampling in that they were enrolled in classes taught by the investigators. However, with the exception of the one class for secondary English teachers, the assignment to classes was arbitrary and there is no reason to believe that these students were atypical of other education students at the university.

Instrumentation. The following three tests were used: Schmeck's (1983) Learning Styles Inventory (LSI), the Farr Assessment of Vocabulary Acquisition (FAVA), and a vocabulary test used to predict performance on the Graduate Record Exam. These were administered to the students as part of the regular class proceeding with the intention of using the instruments to demonstrate different principles taught in the classes. In all, seven different classes were tested, involving 135 subjects, grouped according to type of class. Three analyses of the data were conducted: Group 1, secondary English majors, Group 2, elementary education majors, and Group 3, Master's students in education.

Schmeck's LSI was chosen because it represents a method of assessing information processing based on personal report and thus is not construed by subjects to be a "test." At the same time, it purports to measure an individual's use of learning strategies, some of which coincide with the type of strategies indicated by Werner and Kaplan and van Daalen-Kaptiejns and Elshout-Mohr. Of particular interest are the two classifications of strategies designated by Schmeck as deep processing and elaborative processing. Specifically, items in the deep processing category reflect the ability to decontextualize which was indicative of the performance of high verbals in the Werner/Kaplan paradigm. Schmeck reported similar findings. For more information on this instrument, the reader is referred to Schmeck (1983).

Because the latter two instruments were developed by the principal investigator, discussion of reliability and validity evidence is warranted. Different administrations of the FAVA have resulted in Kuder-Richardson-20 estimates of internal consistency reliability ranging from a low of .68 to a high of .87 (Farr &

Moore, 1989; Farr, 1991). KR-20 estimates of the internal consistency reliability of the vocabulary test scores range from .76 to .81 (Farr, 1991).

Unlike reliability evidence which can be garnered rather easily through statistical analysis, validity evidence is garnered arduously through a variety of approaches. Space does not permit a lengthy discussion of all of the approaches here, but two items are of importance. One, a case can be made that the FAVA does assess process to the extent that, in order to answer the questions correctly, the subjects have to surmise the meaning of the neologisms from the context. Additionally, this procedure has been used by other reputable researchers (Werner and Kaplan, 1967; Cook, Heim, & Watts, 1963). More convincingly, the test scores have been related to several other instruments in an effort to establish both convergent and divergent evidence. The FAVA correlates moderately with the vocabulary test as expected (r ranging from .49 to .77). Individuals with high ability to acquire vocabulary in context should do well on a vocabulary test, but the correlation should be less than perfect due to differential exposure to vocabulary and to the arbitrary choice of words to be included on any specific test. Also, the FAVA, purported to measure ability to learn other than verbal content, correlates moderately with quantitative measures, whereas the vocabulary test does not. For additional information on the two verbal instruments, see Farr and Moore (1989) and Farr (1991).

Results

Pearson correlation coefficients were found as follows for Groups 1 (n= 22), 2 (n=29), and 3 (n=84), respectively: between deep processing and acquiring vocabulary in context, .45, .63, ns; between deep processing and vocabulary, .38, .79, ns; between elaborative processing and vocabulary, .41, .51, .48; between elaborative processing and acquiring vocabulary in context, ns, .48, ns.

These results provide weak support for the hypothesis. Although all of the correlations were not significant, a sufficient number of them were to suggest that there is a relationship between adults' ability to acquire vocabulary in context and the way they process information.

To confirm this, regression analyses were performed using the SAS General Linear Models Procedure. These analyses were performed individually because the data were gathered at different times. Two of the three analyses indicated the predictor variables used in the study, learning processes and ability to acquire vocabulary in context, did explain a portion of the variance in the criterion variable, vocabulary. The R-squared values for the three studies were as follows: $R^2 = .47$, F 1.61, ns; $R^2 = .81$, F 18.98, $p < .01$; $R^2 = .25$, F 2.79, $p < .05$.

Interestingly, the R-squared value that was not significant was the one for Group 1, the English majors. This would be consistent with Marshalek's contention that at some level other factors are more important. These factors would include, but not be restricted to, word abstractness, word frequency, item formats, and task requirements.

In both regressions with significant F values, beta weights for the predictor variables indicated that the two variables which contributed most to successful prediction were 1) the ability to acquire vocabulary in context (i.e., scores on the FAVA), and 2) deep processing.

Educational Importance

Because vocabulary is not only reflective of ability to learn, it affects learning, the implications for adult education are great. One implication is that cultural context must be taken into account when assessing vocabulary. If a student does not exhibit an appropriate vocabulary, it may be because s/he has not been exposed to the words common to the formal school setting. Alternatively, it may be because s/he lacks the reasoning ability to acquire word meaning from context. In the former case, it may be necessary to integrate the student's cultural experiences into the school setting and/or to provide a context for learning. In the latter case, it is imperative that reasoning skills be explicitly taught. Specifically, it may be necessary to teach directly how to use context cues for ascertaining the meaning of new words.

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Giving Through Grandparenting

Patricia S. Whiteley, Ph.D.

Abstract

Is the intergenerational approach mutually beneficial? The main purpose of a study which I conducted in the Victoria area was to verify recent research findings that reported the reasons why grandparents and grandchildren can be mutually supportive. The responses of the study described the ways in which intergenerational relationships had benefits for both the young and the old.

Résumé

Les relations entre générations, servent-elles aussi bien les deux générations? Cette investigation, faite dans la région de Victoria, avait comme but principal de vérifier les résultats d'autres recherches récentes qui ont démontré les façons dont les grandparents et leurs petits-enfants peuvent s'entretenir mutuellement. Les réponses à mon enquête décrivent comment dans une relation entre générations, les jeunes et les vieux s'entraident.

Introduction

Did you know that grandparents are in the fastest-growing age group in Canada? There are approximately five million Canadians over age 55 who comprise the major part of the grandparenting sector. By the turn of the century, 20 percent of the Canadian population will be 65 years of age or over. On the other hand, the number of young adults is decreasing. This trend in turn, affects the area of grandparenting, since there are fewer grandchildren per grandparent. Compared to a generation ago, there are only half as many grandchildren for each grandparent and twice as many grandparents for each grandchild (Statistics Canada, 1986).

Recent research findings of social scientists, gerontologists and child development experts say that grandparents and grandchildren are mutually supportive of each other in a surprising number of ways. In particular, researchers Kornhaber and Woodward have shown that "the bond between grandparents and grandchildren is second in emotional power and influence only to the relationship between parents and children" (McCoy, 1985, p. 65). The purpose of this paper is to report a study that I conducted in order to verify the ways in which grandparents and grandchildren can be mutually supportive. The main question of both studies was "Does grandparenting mean to grandchildren what grandparents think it does?"

Theoretical Framework

The research is based on Erik Erikson's (1950) theory of the Eight Stages of Personality or Ego Development, in particular Stage Seven (Generativity vs Stagnation) in which Erikson states that mature people need to be needed and encouraged by the young and Stage Eight (Ego Integrity vs Despair) in which Erikson notes that children learn not to fear life if their elders have the integrity not to fear death.

Methods

I distributed a questionnaire, adapted from Kornhaber & Woodward (1982), to a cross-section of 40 grandparents and 80 grandchildren. The questionnaire was distributed to a non-random sample. In order to allow for more in-depth responses, I also conducted home interviews with 12 grandparents and 12 grandchildren using the same questionnaire.

Data Source

The questionnaires were distributed and the interviews were conducted in Victoria, B.C. The respondents were chosen mainly for their availability. I have not attempted to present these results as representative of the Canadian population in general.

Results

The responses were congruent with the original study of Kornhaber and Woodward. It appears that the contributions of grandparents as seen by grandchildren are similar. The following conclusions were verified.

1) Major meanings of grandparenting:
*unconditional love and happiness.

For grandparents, an overriding theme was the pleasure and joy that they experience with their grandchildren. Experiences were especially sweet because grandparents did not have the responsibility of parenthood. The freedom from parenting appeared to turn grandparenting into a time to relax and enjoy being with children; a time to express love and approval freely and openly. "I love my grandchildren no matter what. I'm here for them when they need me. I give them unquestioning love."

Similarly, uppermost in the grandchildren's minds was the thought that their grandparents meant love and happiness. Over and over again, the meaning of grandparents was answered with the words, "fun and love" or "joy and happiness." It appeared that grandchildren enjoy their time with their grandparents. As one stated: "It means something special."

•imparting ideals and values, having someone to look up to.

What we hold dear, we want to share with those who are close to us. Grandparents are clear about their values. They can identify the principles that have determined their decisions and direction in life, for example, "Hard work will win rewards in the end." Grandparenting offers the opportunity for these values and ideals to be passed on to the next generation.

Obviously, the next generation has caught the message, because many grandchildren wished to pass on to subsequent generations the specified life stances or philosophies of their grandparents, such as: Be your own person; Fight for what you want out of life; Make hay while the sun shines. These children had observed behaviors and actions of their grandparents - lifestyles that they wished to emulate in the future.

•sharing the past.

Grandparents saw themselves as providing the vital link to their grandchildren's past. They were able to share the past by telling stories about "when grandma was little" or "when daddy was a little boy." In their way grandparents became the link between the good old days and the present. The presenter hopes that this link with the past will provide the next generation with a sense of identity and stability in our everchanging, highly technological society.

The vital link with grandparents has apparently been maintained because grandchildren said that they wished to pass on to their children the sense of history that they had received from their grandparents. Many of them fondly recalled family gatherings, stories and traditions which they intended to continue with their own children. One grandchild said, "My grandparents keep the family relatives close. They are always there for us. I want to teach my children the family history too. I want them to experience the family barbeques and reunions, the times spent sitting together looking at old photos of me, my parents and my grandparents, and hearing the old stories." Grandparents appear to be an important link between the past, the present and the future.

•being a support with a "family" involvement.

Grandparents saw their role as being a loving and caring support for their grandchildren, especially in today's society with its high incidence of divorce. Grandparents who are involved with a one-parent family said, "We think that we are more sympathetic in some ways in order to fill a gap." A recent magazine article notes that grandparents realize the importance of their involvement in their grandchildren's lives and are becoming increasingly vocal about being denied access to their grandchildren because of a divorce. Attorney Richard S. Victor, founder and executive director of the Grandparents' Rights Organization (GRO) in the U.S.A., states, "Children should have the right to have shared memories and experiences with their grandparents ... and the opportunity to experience that kind of unconditional love ... if this experience is being denied because of the death of a grandparent, that's a tragedy. If it's because of family bickering or vindictiveness, that's an injustice" (Day, 1991, p. 45).

Many grandchildren appreciated having a grandparent who was supportive yet not involved in the disciplinary role of a parent: "Having an adult who is family but puts fewer restrictions on you compared to a parent." The grandparent, in many cases, fills the role of confidante, especially for the teenager ("someone there to talk to"). In our society, the parents of 70 percent of young people both work. Therefore, grandparents can be very important, because they often are the only caring people available to listen.

2) Major contributions to each other:
*unconditional love, as described above, and
*a different generational outlook.

Grandparents said they treasured the opportunity to observe the natural joy and wonder of a child. Grandparents loved to be a part of their grandchildren's journey of discovery. For some, it made them feel young again, as shown in this comment: "Through them, I relearn to enjoy all the simple, yet really important, things in life. It's the opportunity to see the world through our grandchildren's eyes."

Grandchildren were also aware that they provided the opportunity for their grandparents to keep in touch with the young and abreast of new ideas. "A person feels as young as the person they are with, so my grandparents feel younger when I'm around. I think that I open their minds to new things and give them new ideas to think about."

Grandchildren saw themselves as a source of pride and satisfaction for their grandparents. Their grandparents received pleasure by watching and being involved in the growth and development of young family members. Grandchildren made this experience possible. In a sense, the past may be relived: it's another chance to watch and guide a young life. A grandchild made this observation: "A lot of memories come back when my grandmother sees me, and she enjoys telling me about them." A real sense of pride was experienced. A grandparent feels a sense of continuity: life is going on; their family will continue.

3) Major area of conflict:

A major area of conflict was related to divorce. Some grandparents resented the fact that their grandchildren had been abandoned or rejected by a parent. On the other hand, grandchildren resented having hard feelings about the absent parent discussed in their presence. "My real dad's parents sometimes talk in front of me about my mom, and I don't think that's fair. I love my mom and I hate to hear her criticized." Both groups enjoyed their times together and would have liked more contact. The major reasons that they did not see each other more often had to do with distance and work schedules.

Educational Importance of the Research

The results of this study supported this finding: by fostering the extended family, a grandparent can be a major contributor, providing support and stability for the younger generations, particularly grandchildren. Dr. Kornhaber agrees, "Grandparents should be the emotional leaders and keepers of the extended family. They should fulfill a variety of vital roles for the younger generations, such as mentor, wizard, confidante, historian and storyteller ... To have roots is to know where you came from and, therefore, who you are; it allows you to go on to something else" (McCoy, 1985).

New Directions - The Intergenerational Approach

The experience of positive grandparenting can develop positive self-esteem in every generation that is involved in the process. The following are examples of the intergenerational process in action:

"Celebrate Talk" is a curriculum language project designed in 1988, by Shana Pankratz, an Ontario teacher. The programme promotes twice weekly intergenerational contact between senior citizens and students in grades two, three and four. One at a time, the children take turns sitting with their "school grandparent" to practise their oral reading and to talk. The programme is designed to bring the young and old together in order to provide sincere opportunities to practise oral language in context, to learn to talk, and to converse meaningfully. For the children the contact between the two generations helps them to learn how to make sensible conversation and is often one of the few times during a school day that a student and an adult can share a brief, uncensored conversation. The "school grandparents" are motivated to volunteer consistently, because they get to know the students as people and they realize that they are truly needed for personal guidance and as expert listeners in the busy and activity-oriented classrooms of today (Pankratz, 1991).

"Grand-buddy Time" is a monthly program which I designed that pairs kindergarten children with their grandparents for an hour of crafts. I have enlisted a group of surrogate grandparents from a nearby Manor to work with children whose grandparents live out of town. For the student, the programme allows the child some individual attention and the opportunity to tackle more complex tasks. For the grandbuddy, the programme is a time to be with the young and as one stated, "It's been fun to come here. Usually anything you do with children is fun."

"Grandparents and Grandchildren Summer Camp" is a weekly camp designed by Arthur Kornhaber and Sagamore Institute in the U.S.A. This first program of its kind created for grandparents and grandchildren of all ages and abilities, provides an array of activities to encourage meaningful and enjoyable shared experiences. The purpose of the camp is for the generations to learn more about each other and about the vital connection between grandparent and grandchild by doing things together (Kornhaber, 1991).

"Adopt-A-Grandparent" is a weekly programme in California that brings together on a regular basis, people in their 70's and 80's with youngsters 12 through 17. Students taking part get school credit for participation in the programme and are required to meet once a week with the programme coordinator to discuss experiences. The program gives young people an opportunity to observe that old age is a part of life. For older people the program didn't bridge the generation gap; it wiped it out (Kornhaber, 1992).

Are there ways that you can encourage intergenerational exchanges?

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CONQUERING DISTANCE: ADULT EDUCATION IN THE RAILWAY SCHOOL CARS OF NORTHERN ONTARIO

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The railway school cars of Northern Ontario, founded in 1926, served to provide schooling for children in remote locations. They also provided adult education from their inception, continuing over the greater part of their activity, which concluded in 1967. Dr. J.B. MacDougall proposed the concept; Premier Howard Ferguson strongly supported its introduction and growth.

Les écoles-wagons du Nouvel-Ontario, fondés en 1926, etaient les écoles pour les enfants en situations isolées. Ils servaient aussi aux adultes depuis leur débuts jusqu'aux années 1950. M. J.B. Mac Dougall a conçu l'idée; Howard Ferguson, le premier ministre de l'Ontario a prêté son appui aussi.

Historical background

In the period of reconstruction which followed World War I, among concerns for the welfare of Ontario residents was that of equality of educational opportunity. Rural schools lacked the trained, well-qualified teachers and adequate equipment and buildings which were generally to be found in urban centres. Those school inspectors who were responsible for the province's northern districts were aware that children living with their parents in isolated locations had no access to schooling of any kind.

J.B. MacDougall expressed his conern in the 1922 report of the Minister of Education: "There is the pressing problem of providing educational facilities for the sequestered group of children who are in sparsely settled areas, along the railroad right-of-way, in the timber and pulpwood camps, and in the various isolated spots chosen by the hunter, the trapper and the fisherman." (5, 1922, p.5)

MacDougall, appointed to Toronto as Assistant Chief Inspector of Schools for northern Ontario, had already had a notable career, chiefly in the north, as a rural school teacher, as principal of North Bay Model School and of North Bay High School, and as the first resident northern inspector of schools. He completed his doctorate in pedagogy at the University of Toronto in 1918, and his thesis, *Building the North*, was published by McClelland and Stewart in 1919.

The chapter "Widening the School Plant" addressed the educational needs of the immigrant worker in Canada, particularly those labouring in the north. "Conscript to custom and slave to ignorance he displays a doltish indifference to the spirit and institutions of the land of his adoption. Increasing numbers are a menace to the security and solidarity of the nation. Only when passions are strongly stirred, in times of political and industrial crisis is the menace felt, but we do well to take measures betimes to obviate the danger and create a strong, reliable, homogeneous citizenship." "[They] ... have failed, in some way, in considerable numbers, to obtain the minimum education essential to intelligent citizenship. We have been depending on the regular system ... to protect us from excess of illiterates among these. ... Draw the dragnet as closely as you will, many of educable age slip through the meshes to augment the numbers of illiterate." (9, pp.139-40)

MacDougall went on to acknowledge the work of Alfred Fitzpatrick and the Canadian Reading Camp Association, whose labourer-teachers had taught literacy and citizenship to workmen in lumber camps, minesites and railway-construction operations for more than two decades. MacDougall noted that where it was possible to establish a school, the building should be shared for the purposes of educating both children and adults.

(Alfred Fitzpatrick's *The University in Overalls*, published by Frontier College (the successor to the Reading Camp Association) in 1923, expressed a similar concern for the immigrant labourer. The College's efforts helped groups of immigrants at particular work camps, but were not designed to reach those more isolated by the nature of their work.)

The Ontario Department of Education made no immediate reply to MacDougall's observations. Premier E.C. Drury was committed especially to responding to the perceived needs of Ontario's agricultural community, through the mandate won by the United Farmers of Ontario. Although Drury took action on teacher qualifications and teachers' salaries, and made more equitable the provision of school supplies and equipment, neither he nor Robert Grant, then Minister of Education, expressed concern or took action on behalf of those without schooling. (8, p.83)

A broader view, more inclusive of the needs of "New Ontario", was taken by G. Howard Ferguson, the Liberal premier who took office in 1924, and who retained for himself the role of Minister of Education. Almost immediately he addressed the issue of poor school attendance, and proposed to raise the school leaving age to sixteen. (5, 1925, p. x). The same report indicated that inspectors had conducted a survey to determine the number and locations of isolated children. (*ibid.* pp.4-5).

A first response to the need was the formation of a small correspondence- school operation within the Department, at March 1926, which enabled children to complete, under home supervision, the programme of the four elementary forms (i.e. grades one through eight). A teaching staff was assembled to assess and respond to pupils' written work.

The Railway School Cars and Adult Education

In addition, in the early months of 1926 an agreement was reached between the Ontario Department of Education and the two major continental railway lines, Canadian National and Canadian Pacific, to convert, equip and place in service two school cars, each complete with a classroom and with living quarters for a teacher and his family. MacDougall was responsible for specifying details of the conversion, and for selecting the first teachers, Fred Sloman, based at Capreol on the CN line, and Walter McNally, based at Chapleau on the CP line.

These school cars and those later added to the service typically spent five or five and one-half days at a particular siding, and stopped in sequence at five or six stops. Then they were picked up by a mixed train or a freight, to repeat the sequence throughout the school year from Septem ber to June. Pupils were given sufficient homework to cover the intervening time, and quickly had to become more than ordinarily self-reliant, since the majority came from homes in which English was not spoken.

An estimated 90% of the parents were immigrants, lacking formal education and the ability to communicate in English. The greater number of men were railroad employees, chiefly section men, the latter located at intervals of seven miles along the northern tracks. " "Italian immigrants ... were the only ones who would stay through the flies of summer and the cold of winter", says Cela Sloman. "They were frugal and anxious to get ahead." " (6, p.31)

Ferguson was quick to note the Department of Education's leadership in providing learning opportunities for adults as well as for their children. "The foreign- born ...trained in an atmosphere inimical to Canadian ideas of citizenship, are quickly developing into loyal and law-abiding Canadians." (5, 1926, p. xiii).

In a summary report which MacDougall prepared for Ferguson, dated May 6, 1927, under the heading "The School Car and the Parents", MacDougall quoted from Walter McNally: "The night class has created more sensation, if that is possible, than the day class. I never saw anything like it. Mr. Paquette and Rose Picard could neither read nor write a word of English. In three two-hour lessons they were reading readily page 64 of the Primer. ... Mr. Paquette was doomed against promotion because he could not write a train order after ten years' railway service. Now he has a chance." (Archives of Ontario, Ferguson papers, copy)

In 1928 two cars were added. William Wright was appointed to teach out of Chapleau, and William Fleming set out from Port Arthur. In later years, three more school cars were added, to a maximum of seven, including one operating on the Temiskaming & Northern Ontario (T.& N.O., now Ontario Northland) line, running north of North Bay through the Temagami Forest Reserve.

"Under the night classes the parents and older members of the families, eighty- five per cent of whom are non-English, have acquired power not only to read and write English, but to understand and carry out intelligently their business responsibilities, such as letter writing, making systematic reports in railroad work and computations therewith. The teachers' wives have likewise exercised a helpful influence in directing the female section of these communities in home craft and other needful services. The school car is a constructive force in the way of building the New Canadian into wholesome and loyal citizenship. Bolshevik propaganda finds no place or acceptance wherever the school car operates ... since the last car was installed ... thirteen mid- European immigrants have become naturalized Canadian citizens." (5, 1929, p. xi)

"The inculcation of principles of citizenship was seldom absent from the purposes of the Ontario educational establishment." "In terms of publicity, the railway school cars were an unabashed success; they received extensive international attention and won wide acclaim for the Department of Education." "They were also a practical achievement of note." (4, pp.323-24). They were completely adaptable to the shifts of families along the railway lines as they sought jobs, or were reassigned by the railroads by the exercise of seniority or "bumping".

The public's interest in the unique operation of the school cars was maintained by numerous magazine articles and newspaper reports. The ability of the teacher to provide informal education to adults, as well as formal education to their children, seldom passed unnoticed.

The *Guelph Daily Mercury* commented that "While it is not anticipated that adult settlers ... will derive any great benefit so far as they themselves are concerned [the programme] is playing an important part in the Canadianizing the present generation ..." *(sic.)* (October 29, 1933).

This was not the perception of other reporters. "Along the Sioux Lookout line there is hardly a family that hasn't been naturalized since they got the hang of the English tongue. The men and women there often walk four or five miles to the night school ... in weather that drops forty below zero. They are taught the rudiments of the tongue first and go up to simple civics ..." (*Telegram* January 19, 1939)

"Palmo Schryer had left his lantern lit, on the floor by the door. The oil lamp by the school car blackboard had a flickering flame. Outside, the wolfish howl of a husky would rise to a high wail." "I learn to read and write to correctness and perhaps be a foreman. No?" ... "Good story in it." He points to the public school history of Canada. He has brought back a dictionary which he maintains he read all through and a fifth form reader which he read too." (*Telegram* January 21, 1939)

"Sloman's pushing Canada further north. He's teaching Poles and Finns and Germans to talk our language and to like the country they make their living in." "Wherever the school car stops it serves as hospital, reading centre, amateur play house, game centre. Every night of the school year it's open. People bring their troubles to the Slomans, learn to read and write irrespective of age, get training in midwifery, in carpentry, in making clothes." (*Toronto Star* September 11, 1940)

"We lend as many as 1,000 books per school term. Subsequent conversations show that [the borrowers] have read them thoroughly and have a good understanding of their contents." (*Globe* October 11, 1940)

Because all of the adult education work was undertaken on an informal basis, little official information exists about it. In a report prepared for the Canadian Pacific Railway, William Wright noted that in 1938-39, 51 hours were spent on night classes at the stops at Girdwood and Bolkow. Much of the Wright family's personal correspondence was selected and edited by their children, to produce a manuscript a copy of which is held at the National Archives. "I have just let the men go home after nearly two hours of night school - the second class this week. Last week Helen had classes - three evenings at Bolkow."

(Wright correspondence, February 23, 1939). (Although the correspondence contains little about the Wrights' classroom work, it is a remarkable mirror of those details of daily life which the Wrights experienced in the north.) (National Archives, RG31, D208)

The teachers in the school cars were chosen to be adaptable to their circum stances, and to their ever-changing classroom clientele. From correspondence with Margaret Sloman, who grew up on a school car, and who has been considerably responsible for the restoration of a school car honouring Fred Sloman at Clinton, she writes (November 5, 1991): "My father did not likely realize that he was helping with adult education, or my mother, helping with nutrition. They were both so interested in all the children from all nationalities, and their wonderful parents, trying to give them everything they didn't have as they were growing up, with very little money, but lots of fresh air, fresh fish, and pure water ..." "... I can't give you any specific lessons that were given to the adults ... My father just answered questions ... All his students were taught from the beginning to ask questions, because this was such a help in their individual learning."

The Interest of the Railway Companies in the School Cars

From correspondence retained in Canadian National files it appears that Canadian National was lukewarm to the initial proposal from the Department of Education to operate school cars. Possible problems of safety, security and sanitation were represented as being all but insurmountable, as was the cost of building sidings where these did not already exist. Practical problems were clearly quickly solved, for early exchanges between the Department and the railways dated from the first months of 1926, yet the cars were ready to be viewed at the Canadian National Exhibition in August, and Sloman and McNally set out for their respective posts in September 1926.

In 1931 correspondence between CN's Vice-President and its President, Sir Henry Thornton, noted an inquiry received from an officer of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, concerning the possibility of operating school cars in Batiscan and Jonquiere subdivisions [in Quebec] and on the transcontinental line between Hervey and Nakina. (Montreal, May 27, 1931). Canadian National sought information from MacDougall, from which they might approach provincial departments of education. They made some effort to assess the number of employees and children along more remote rail lines both in Quebec and in New Brunswick.

MacDougall, in his capacity as "Director of School Cars" replied on June 2, 1931, including the following remarks on adult education: "The ultimate value of the School Car to those secluded settlements cannot be estimated. The parents are sharing with the children in the benefits. The teachers have opened night school at various points. The railway employee who was doomed to stay where he was, because he could not read, write or interpret a train order, or figure out grade, or fuel consumption, or tonnage, is lifted into a new world of promise. His ambition is whetted. He is making good for himself and the company. ...The teacher is the dynamic force behind the scene .. he is ... court of appeal for the adult ..." (RG30, v.13043)

Thornton of CN and Beatty of CP clearly were personally aware of the work of the school cars, and senior executives of the railway systems were aware of the advantages of providing education both to adult employees and to their children. However, it was decided to leave to the initiative of provincial departments of education to inquire about the feasibility of school cars in other jurisdictions. Information about what happened in Quebec, Newfoundland, Alberta and Saskatchewan seems substantially less detailed than that for Ontario.

The number of isolated railway employees declined as the distance between section inspection points increased, as electric signals were introduced, and as the materials and methods of track construction improved. The number of school cars eventually dwindled to two, which served principally non-reserve Indian children. Movement of the cars was regarded as costly. The service was no longer of advantage particularly to railroad employees. The Ministry of Education closed the school cars in 1967. In 1966 it commenced placing teachers in one-room school locations under its "Northern Corps" project.

Conclusion

The unique aspects of the railway school cars, and of the teachers and their families who provided adult education, have continued to appeal to the imaginative mind, as has the romance associated with the unknown north. In particular Fred Sloman's role as one of the first and long-serving teachers has been captured in Gordon Pinsent's *And Miles to Go*, CBC TV drama, September 11, 1985, in David Craig's play *Fires in the Night*, produced at the Blyth Festival in the summer of 1988, and in its adaptation for radio broadcast on *Morningside*, September 1991. Craig's script captures very well the Slomans' concern for the education and welfare of adults, as well as for that of their children.

"WOMAN: I saw the school car come last night. I could see the light shining right through the trees. It was so beautiful I watched all night." (2, p.20)

"WIFE: Mr and Mrs Sloman ... I am so very, very pleased you have come to this remote settlement. I can't think of a time when I have seen all of my neighbours together. Having this beautiful new school coming every month will be something exciting to look forward to. Thank you.

FRED: If there's anything we can do please tell us.

WIFE: I wouldn't want to impose ...

FRED: It would be a pleasure.

WIFE: Well, could I perhaps borrow a book?

FRED: Of course.

(Everyone starts speaking at once)

MARYAN: Can you teach English?

FRED: Yes.

CORRADO: How do I become a Canadian?

FRED: I'll find out."

(2, p.21)

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RE-DIVIDING LABOUR: BRITISH GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS ADULT UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE 1980S

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Abstract
This paper argues that the 'new Right' Conservative government of the 1980s used unemployment and responses to it as part of an evolving economic and political strategy to re-divide labour to produce a more productive and compliant labour force as part of a restructuring of the United Kingdom economy. The re-division of labour has two inter-related aspects. First, the role of unemployment and legislation in undermining the power and rights of labour. Second, the role of 'reforms' of education and training in restratifying the labour force as part of the restructuring of the economy.

Cet exposé analyse les tentatives 'Néo-droitistes' du gouvernement britannique pour créer une main-d'oeuvre à la fois productrice et docile dans les années 80. Dans ce contexte, la re-division de la main-d'oeuvre a deux sens distincts mais qui se tiennent. Premièrement, il y a le rôle que jourent le chômage et la législation dans le déclin des droits et des pouvoirs des syndicats actifs dans le marché du travail britannique. Ceci fait partie de l'assaut mené par la 'Nouvelle Droite' contre les fondements matériels d'une alternative socialiste au libre marché capitaliste. Deuxièmement, il y a le rôle joué par les stages de formation financés par le gouvernement et les 'réformes' des diplômes professionnels qui out pour effet de re-stratifier la main-d'oeuvre.

The Thatcher government came to power in May 1979 following a high profile poster campaign on the theme, 'Labour isn't working'. Unemployment stood at 1,299,300. By May 1983, the figure had risen to over 3 million and continued at these levels until 1987, peaking at around 3.5 million in early 1986. There followed a sharp decline to 1,612,400 by November 1989. A decade and two re-election victories after 'Labour isn't working', unemployment in the United Kingdom was still at a higher level officially than it had been at the start of the decade (Unemployment Unit and Youthaid 1990). The view that 1980s unemployment was cyclical, a problem that would be resolved by economic growth, became increasingly untenable, although still espoused, as the 1980s progressed.

'Officially' needs to be emphasised, because these figures do not tell the full story. They are based on the calculations of the Department of Employment (DE), the principal government department with responsibility for labour market policy. They ignore three factors. First, the way in which the figures were calculated changed on a number of occasions, resulting in an overall lowering of the total (Taylor 1990). The Unemployment Unit (UU), an independent charity, has continued to estimate unemployment figures on the same basis as they were calculated at the beginning of the decade. The discrepancy between the DE and UU figures rises from roughly 200,000 in December 1982 to just over 800,000 in December 1989 (Unemployment Unit and Youthaid 1992). Second, the official figures do not include those on government funded schemes for the unemployed. Numbers have varied on the differing schemes throughout the decade, but the effects have been to reduce the unemployment total by between 300,000 and 600,000. Third, the figures do not encompass the unwaged, mostly women, who may wish to become active in the paid labour market.

Unemployment was a complex phenomenon. There were regional variations, linked to the particular sectors of the economy most affected by decline (Hughes 1991 and Unemployment Unit and Youthaid 1992). Unemployment amongst certain minority ethnic groups was more pronounced (Unemployment Unit and Youthaid 1991). Long term unemployment i.e. over 12 months, increased from 22% in 1981 to 42.6% in 1987, decreasing to 38% in 1989 (Unemployment Unit and Youthaid 1991). Certain groups were more prone to long term unemployment.

Other changes in employment patterns occurred during this period. Between December 1979 and December 1989, male employment in Britain dropped from 13.18 millions to 11.8 millions. In the same period, female employment rose from 9.54 millions to 10.55 millions. Within these overall trends, certain features need to be highlighted. While male full-time employment dropped substantially, part-time employment rose moderately. However, the number of women in both full- and part-time employment increased, but more substantially in the latter (around 700,000) than in the former (around 300,000). In addition, numbers in self-employment rose over the decade from 1.9 millions to 3.2 millions (Unemployment Unit and Youthaid 1991a). This overall increase in the working population enabled government Ministers to claim the success of economic growth, despite ongoing unemployment.

These shifts in the profile and forms of participation in the labour market were associated with fundamental changes in the structure of the U.K. economy. The manufacturing base contracted, while growth took place in the service sector. Between 1979 and 1987, there was a growth of employment of 700,000 in the financing, insurance and business services sector (Hughes 1991 p16). A pattern therefore emerges of decline in full-time male manufacturing employment and a growth in part- and full-time female employment, particularly in the service sector, a process termed elsewhere the 'housewifization' of the economy (Hart 1992).

The re-structuring of the economy has entailed significant changes in the division of labour for those in and out of employment. Jobs have been lost, new jobs created, ways of working have changed. These are trends, identified by some as a shift towards 'post-Fordist' modes of organization, in which consumer power takes primacy over that of the producer as new technology makes possible new ways of organizing production (Murray 1989). Whether or not we accept the 'post-Fordist' analysis, government policy in the 1980s was about creating the conditions for the changes that have taken place and dealing with the consequences of them, materially and ideologically (Edwards 1991). The government's 'free' market economic strategy resulted in a shift from manufacturing to service based employment, in which un- and under-employment in low paid and part-time employment was accepted as a necessary, and even desirable (i.e. attractive to capital), feature. Its political strategy was to use economic change, unemployment and legislation as the basis for an assault on the rights of Trade Unionists, to undermine power in the workplace and a collective base for an alternative to 'free' market policies. Education and training policy was only one arm of the 'new Right's' evolving economic and political strategy. Economic and social policy were critical dimensions of the changes that have been wrought.

Having defined interference by the state in the economy and labour market 'rigidities' as key inhibitors of labour market flexibility and economic competitiveness, the Thatcher government quickly set about altering the pre-existing balance of power. The unregulated movement of capital was made possible and a range of anti-Trade Union legislation was enacted. These Acts progressively undermined the strength of Trade Union organization. Secondary picketing, the closed shop, unofficial strike action were all outlawed. The coal miners' strike of 1984-5 epitomises the impact of this legislation. Previously legitimate Trade Union activity was criminalised, which made the defence of jobs and working practices increasingly difficult. Trade Union negotiating strength was effectively undermined. The legislative framework for a 'flexible' labour market was thereby created.

Aligned with this was the re-assertion of an ideology of 'possessive individualism' (Macpherson 1975) and the targeting of initiatives at the self-interested individual. The vision of a property- and share-owning democracy was promoted, an opportunity culture, in which the individual was to be responsible and accountable for themselves. Public housing and utilities were sold in an attempt to promote the view that we could all have a stake in restructured capitalism. The individualism espoused by government was actually circumscribed by a familial ideology. In tension with the trend towards increasing female employment, the individual to whom policy was addressed was primarily the patriarchal head of family.

Unemployment had a dual role in this situation. First, there was the impact of fear of unemployment on the expectations of pay and conditions by employees and the unemployed. Second, it provided a labour resource, which through training and employability programmes were positioned largely in those areas of low paid, insecure employment which were least attractive to work in. The rhetoric of these schemes, most notably Employment Training, was always of high quality training for the high skill requirements of the economy. As it became clear that there were few jobs available, that the jobs which were available tended to be low skill, low paid and insecure, that 'work experience' often meant cheap labour, that participation did not necessarily result in employment and that the quality of training was variable, there was a reaction against these schemes (Finn 1989). Particularly poorly served were certain minority ethnic groups, people with learning difficulties and the older unemployed.

The need to enforce labour market discipline meant the government and others tended to pathologise the unemployed as responsible for their own lack of skill and employment i.e. blame the victim. A crude instrumental link between the individual and (self-)employment through the acquisition of skills was asserted and encouraged. The result was increasingly tight 'policing' of unemployment. Benefit levels were cut to 'encourage' people to take the jobs which were available. In 1988, 'actively seeking work' replaced 'availability for work' as the criterion for the claiming of unemployment benefit. The unemployed came under increasing pressure either to take the available jobs, regardless of their appropriateness, pay and conditions, or participate in training schemes. This enabled them either no longer to be a burden on the exchequer, or a statistic on the unemployment figures.

The economic restructuring also gave the government the opportunity to attack another of its favourite targets, the education profession. Constructed as the bastion of 'progressive' ideas and practices which had failed to provide people with the skills needed to operate in the modern economy, they proceeded with a range of structural and curricula 'reforms', attempting to make education/training more economically relevant (see Keep forthcoming). Employer interests were given increased influence over the governing of public sector providers and the allocation of resources for training (i.e. Training and Enterprise Councils/Local Enterprise Councils). Employers and private training organisations were given a greater role in providing opportunities for the unemployed. 'Core skills' were promoted to enable labour market flexibility and multi-skilling. Vocational qualifications were (and are being) 'reformed' to more closely reflect the competences required by employers from employees in performing their roles in the workplace.

This 'reform' of vocational qualifications, begun in 1986 with the establishment of the National Council for Vocational Qualifications (NCVQ), both reflects and enhances the changes which have taken place in the labour market. The tasks of the NCVQ have been to work with employers in occupational sectors to define standards of competence in job performance and establish systems to provide access to qualifications which assess people's performance against these standards, including assessment in the workplace. The aim is to provide a coherent national structure of vocational qualifications encompassing all areas of employment. The standards of competence are established at different levels, at which the qualifications are awarded.

Employer interests are therefore embedded in the standards and delivery mechanisms of National Vocational Qualification (NVQs) Equally, NVQs embed a hierarchical division of labour within a qualifications structure, giving status to and reflecting the increasing power of managers within organizations, even where more open and participative patterns of working have been introduced (Mumby and Stohl 1991). Level I NVQs assess competence in a range of routine and predictable activities. Level IV NVQs assess competence in complex technical, specialised and professional activities, in which supervisory or management competence is deemed to be necessary in many occupational areas. (Level IV is asserted to be the equivalent of under-graduate level study.) The 'reformed' qualifications attempt to reflect and engender a closer link between occupation and qualifications, providing a clear relationship between qualification and position in the division of labour. While there has been much criticism of NVQs (e.g. Field 1991 and Marshall 1991), including of their narrow occupational focus, the government has promoted them strongly. Outcomes based funding, linked to the achievement of NVQs, was introduced in the late 1980s into schemes for the unemployed. This form of funding has meant that those with the greatest educational and training requirements, who take longest to achieve a NVQ, are least likely to have access to provision, thereby increasing the marginalisation of a significant section of the unemployed.

Government economic, social and educational policy in the 1980s was an evolving attempt to re-stratify the labour force, as part of the overall restructuring of the economy. Unemployment and responses to it were part of the attempt to produce a more productive and compliant labour force. This resulted from and in an undermining of the material base for the organization of a labour based opposition and alternative to Conservative policies. Both structural and curricula changes in education/training were part of that strategy. The espoused goal was an economically competitive, high skill economy. Economically, the outcome, despite increased productivity, is a continuation of the United Kingdom's long term decline and increasing disparity between the wealthy and poor (Hutton 1992). Politically, compliance has never been total, but opposition was certainly greatly weakened.

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ADULT EDUCATION IN THE MARKETPLACE

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Abstract: Although local adult education services were insulated from legislation which created education markets in the 1980's, they have been profoundly affected by market forces which will restrict educational opportunities for women.

Abstrait: Bien que les services de l'éducation adulte localisée soient isolés de la législation qui a crée des marchés éducatifs pendant les années 1980, ils sont affectés profondement par des forces du marché qui restreindront des occasions éducatives pour les femmes.

Introduction

British education in the eighties has undergone radical change but the imperatives to modernise British education in response to social and economic change seem to have been less important in the formation of education policy than the project to transform the organisation and culture of education itself. British education has taken on characteristics of the private sector and education institutions have been reconstituted as businesses with a market-led ethos.

Prior to the publication of the White Paper 'Education and Training for the 21st Century' (1991), adult education was rarely mentioned in the new policy discourses or in the legislation. Nevertheless, adult education practices have changed profoundly over the last decade and I want in this paper to begin to assess how far recent critiques of the New Right's agenda are relevant to Local Authority adult education. The paper is necessarily sketchy and should be read as an agenda for more intensive research.

One of the effects of the Russell Report (1973) was to locate Local Authority adult education within a social policy discourse of 'needs-meeting'. While this allowed a continuing debate over adult education's role in the redistribution of resources, it isolated 'non-vocational' adult education from education policy and practice and placed it in the 'grey area' between education and social work. Over the last decade LEA adult education has managed to build bridges across this vocational/non-vocational divide and to establish progression routes for students into Further and Higher Education. This may have as much to do with the way adult education has been able to respond to the nature of women's increasing participation in the labour market as with the vocationalism of education policy initiatives.

Now that the proposals of the White Paper have passed into the FHE Act, adult education has been institutionally split across an artificial divide between vocational and non-vocational provision. This puts at risk both the access points and the progression routes which the almost invisible development of a work-related curriculum for women had opened up. At the same time the shift from a social policy discourse of 'needs-meeting' to a discourse of consumerism which relates 'needs' to the individual consumer in the market threatens to transform the non-vocational curriculum of Local Authority adult education.

New Education Policies

The Education Reform Act (1988) was the culmination in legislation of new education policies and marked the completion of the first stage of the project to transform education. The Act was mainly concerned with initial schooling. It weakened the historic control of Local Education Authorities in two directions. First, it centralised State control in the legislation for a National Curriculum for schools. Secondly, it created education markets by requiring LEAs to delegate to governing bodies of individual schools and Further Education Colleges, responsibilities for the financial management of the institution along with other powers such as the hiring and firing of staff. This has weakened teachers' professional control of the curriculum and their power in negotiating conditions of service. The ERA also provided for schools to opt out of Local Authority control altogether.

Ball(1992) sees embodied in the Act an education marketplace informed by the Hayeckian principles of choice, diversity and competition. The effect, he argues, is to reduce education planning and to give priority to financial planning and to profit and loss. Governing bodies become boards of directors and head teachers are recast as chief executives. ERA is a marker in a political project to transform not only the culture of education but the economic and social relationships between Central and Local State, between institutions and the State and between individuals and the State through the operation of an education market in which the role of the parent shifts from rate-payer to client and from citizen to consumer.

Other readings of ERA stress its contradictions and point to the neo-conservative influence on legislation which strengthens central control of education notably in the creation of the National Curriculum and the new forms of bureaucratic control designed to make education accountable through the measurement of institutional performance drawn from industrial management and accountancy: staff appraisal, performance indicators and measures of quality.

Adult Education and the Restructuring of Local Authorities

The processes through which Local Authority adult education has become market-led are rather different from those through which schools have been placed in an education market. It has not been subject to centralised control through the National Curriculum which applies only to schooling although the vocationalisation of its curriculum has been subject to new forms of accreditation including NVQs. Moreover, LEA adult education services were excluded from delegation and LMS because they lacked student hours rather than student numbers and they have therefore remained within the full control of Local Authorities. Rather than becomimg self-managing businesses in their own right adult education services have been continuously reorganised as Local Authorities have remodelled themselves as corporate companies. These reorganisations, driven by legislation intended to transform the Welfare State, have involved a shift away from public provision of services for collective consumption towards privatised provision for individual consumption and have decreased the control of Local Authorities over local resources. Poll Tax has also had a devastating effect on the provision of local services, especially in Labour Authorities. Adult education services have no statutory protection and have been cut back everywhere and in some places have almost disappeared.

However, financial cuts do not in themselves account for the kinds of change which have taken place in the organisation and curriculum of adult education.

Managerialism

The pace of change from one Local Authority has not been uniform, but successive reorganisations indicate a movement towards 'lean' organisations aspiring to post-Fordist forms of management: flattened hierarchies, delegation of responsibilty to the lowest possible level, team working and flexible skills. The Report of a Local Goverment Training Board seminar (1985) attended by senior management from both Conservative and Labour Authorities and entitled 'Excellence and Local Governnment' reveals interest in 'the culture of excellence,'and some 'flagship' Authorities began to promote a culture of change in the mid-eighties. The recent promotion of TQM by govermental agencies indicates a shift away from centralised bureaucratic forms of management control drawn from Fordist forms of mass production. Total Quality Management which is customer focussed, reputation-led, self-policing at all levels will place public sector services more firmly in the competitive market place.

In adult education the trends are towards leaner services and the disappearance of a significant number of middle management jobs has increased the distance between senior management and the rest of the workforce. Responsibility for financial management is delegated down to local centre level but with tight budgets there is little scope for curriculum planning. Much of the time which used to go into the professional support and supervision of courses is now spent monitoring 'business plans'. Some professional tasks, such as advising students and supporting tutors, are now taken on informally by part-time administrative staff, usually women, and the increased flexibility in their working practices is not recognised through training or enhanced pay. Authorities have different requirements about level of costs to be recovered from courses but there is increasing pressure to rely on popular courses which will recruit large numbers of students, and to employ tutors who are known to be popular and bring students in, because both these strategies contribute to meeting financial targets.

Thus with new forms of management, educational planning has given way to financial planning and with it a shift from professional control of the curriculum towards service delivery. Even the possibility of strategic educational planning for a local community disappears where local centres are placed in competition with each other as well as with colleges, schools and private institutions for individual consumers. While some Authorities have maintained concessionary fees for some students or courses, fees generally have risen which makes the selective targeting of more affluent sectors of the market likely.

The Role of Social Policy Agencies

The development of market-led adult education has not depended solely on Local Authority restructuring. It has also been targeted by the new agencies (FEU, UDACE, FESC) which have interpreted policy initiatives for the field and disseminated the new discourses of managerialism and vocationalism. This has particularly affected the development of vocationalism in adult education in the accreditation of courses and an emphasis on a competence-led curriculum. There has also been a massive growth in marketing and management courses which has created an internal training market and provided consultancy work for many of those made redundant through reorganisation. A common response of practitioners to these courses has been a form of resistance which argues that marketing 'helps us to do what we already do better'. Some trainers have reputedly taken the same line to gain practitioners' commitment to market values. More than one trainer appears to have promoted the idea that 'marketing is just another form of outreach'. Outreach, however, was a practice embedded in a needs-meeting policy discourse which constructed adult education as a service for the whole community.

There must be doubt about how far new marketing practices in adult education have been able to undertake real market research but we should not under-estimate the power of the discourse of marketing itself for producing a new consumerism which transforms the student into a customer and the curriculum into a commodity.

Adult Education and Consumerism

Among the potential consumers of adult education we can distinguish between corporate customers+individual consumers. The former include private sector firms which purchase training courses for employees and Local Authorities purchasing educational services for clients as an element of community care. Private sector courses are potential income generators but firms may take them over and offer them in-house once they have observed what needs to be done. Local Authorities have been slow to identify the ways in which education may be an element of community care; but there are instances of adult education providing an element in a multi-agency response to a demand for community care. There are also examples of Local Authorities purchasing, for example, basic education for adults from Voluntary Sector agencies. This is where residual redistribution policies will influence service delivery although there are anxieties about the power of the agencies involved to determine the needs of clients. In both cases the purchaser is able to specify the course which adult education is to deliver and shifts adult education further towards a market-led service.

Women are overwhelmingly the majority of the student body of Local Authority adult education and it is here that the shift in the individual student's role from rate-payer to client and from citizen to consumer is most evident and where the commodification of the curriculum threatens women's access to a broad range of educational opportunities. The White Paper revived the idea that Local Authority adult education is a 'leisure' service but its curriculum has always reflected women's work rather than men's spare time activities. In the sixties and seventies adult education was preoccupied with women as wives and housewives and the curriculum reflected the interests of white women in upwardly aspiring middle class families. Working class women caught up in a network of referal agencies were more likely to be drawn into workshop provision with a hidden curriculum aimed at remedying their mothering practices.

In the eighties, however, adult education responded to the increasing complexity of women's lives in the formal as well as the informal economy. The restructuring of the labour market and the deterioration of family incomes meant that more women entered part-time and low paid work at the same time that their unpaid work as multiple carers increased. Because adult education is accessible locally at times women can manage, for two or three hours a week which can be fitted in with both part-time paid work and family responsiblities, adult education can respond to the social context of women's lives. It is also a form of education women can move in and out of as other pressures in their lives dictate.

The new opportunities in the eighties grew out of but remained integrated with the community based curriculum for women. Many 'women's interest' courses were reformed to provide students with the knowledge and skills to progress to vocational courses in the FHE sector. The transformation of dress-making courses into foundation courses in fashion and design is a successful example. Courses once derided as frills for middle class women, like cake icing, began to attract women who wanted a skill they could use to supplement their income from home. A growth in 'people skills' courses such as assertion training and counselling have also been a route to self employment for women. More black women and white working class women began to use adult education, particularly in innercity areas where developments were supported by Equal Opportunities policies and included creche provision and concessionary fees.

While these developments tend to confirm recent feminist analyses that the sexual division of labour is determined as much in the labour market as in the family, adult education has offered flexible education and training opportunities to women whose social and economic circumstances restrict their access to other forms of education and training. Equally important these routes to paid work have not closed off opportunites for for those who want education for a host of other reasons: to support their work as carers, to maintain their health, to keep them in the community when age or family responsibilites tend to isolate them. The development of a work-related curriculum which recognises the intermeshing of women's paid and unpaid labour and supports continuing citizenship for those who might otherwise be isolated from the community is threatened by the arbitrary distinction between vocational and non-vocational imposed by the FHE Act.

In addition the entry into the adult education of new forms of consumerism may indicate the nature of its future curriculum of Local Authority adult education. Baudrillard's contention that consumption 'is a function of production and not a function of pleasure, and therefore, like material production is not an individual function but one that is directly and totally collective', illuminates what may be happening as adult education becomes market-led. The development of courses in, for example, alternative medicine and heritage culture, both popular in the more affluent parts of South -East England are beginning to show some of the characteristics of new forms of consumption detailed by Baudrillard. Rather than meeting the needs of individual consumers adult education is becoming caught up in the much larger processes on consumerism in late capitalism where consumption is itself a form of regulation for group integration and social control.

The operation of an adult education market is not new, as both Westwood and Griffin have pointed out, but a market-led service operating without reference to Equal Opportunities policies or ameliorated by claims of social justice may lead to the complete commodification of the 'non-vocational' Local Authority curriculum.

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Literacy and return-to-learning programs for women.
- Shifts in perspective.

Ruth Lesirge and Jane Mace

In this paper we suggest that developments in women's education made in the early 1980's are now increasingly hard to maintain. Despite some gains since then, we argue that there are unresolved contradictions in the vocational training agenda which, in turn, spell an overall decline in women's opportunities to learn on their own terms.

Programmes d'alphabétisation et de retour à l'étude pour les femmes.
- Changements de perspective.

Ruth Lesirge et Jane Mace.

Dans ce document nous suggérons que les développements dans l'éducation des femmes établis au début des années 80 sont à présent de plus en plus difficiles à maintenir.

Depuis lors, en dépit de certains avances, nous soutenons qu'il y a dans l'agenda de la formation professionelle des contradictions non résolues qui, à leur tour, entraînent un déclin effectif des occasions offertes aux femmes d'étudier dans les conditions de leur choix.

Literacy and Return to Learning Programmes for Women - shifts in perspective

Ruth Lesirge and Jane Mace

There is a sense in which the women's movement and the literacy movement converged in the late 1970s. Following the early period of the British adult literacy 'campaign', during which a huge majority of volunteer tutors were women, many had become adult literacy organisers and even heads of departments and centres. During the same period, legislation of the mid-1970s outlawing sex discrimination and requiring equal opportunities had given some formal recognition to the demands for a reversal of women's historic subordination.

In more than one adult education organisation, literacy classes led to the formation of what became known as 'fresh start' and 'return to learning' courses. Literacy teachers and organisers like ourselves had become eager to develop some more coherent response to the intellectual interests that many adult literacy students had in political and social education than was possible in the weekly literacy class. All had low cost fees; most were daytime, supported with creche provision; and at that stage, they were mixed - open to men and women. However, the two of us, quite independently of each other, were among many women organisers in the early 1980's who, on evaluating the early experience of such courses, made a policy decision to offer a number of such courses to women only. It was here that the twin rhetorics of 'liberating literacy' and women's liberation met, and took on new meaning.

At that time, women as a population group were being prioritised, for the first time, by many local authority education policies. Along with ethnic minorities and disabled people, it was recognised that women had been socially disadvantaged, and gender was seen as a crucial determinant in fundamental inequalities. Women adult educators such as ourselves saw the courses we were designing both as a means of personal growth, and as a tool for analysis of the very discrimination which precipitated the 'needs' for such confidence in the first place.

Our assessment of the ethos which now dominates the funding and support of opportunities for women is inevitably grounded in and related to our own experience. Both of us started out as literacy tutors and both, as we have indicated, were among the many other women in adult education in the early 1980s who recognised ourselves as concerned with women's studies. (1) On more than one project, we were partners in the teaching of and research into women's learning. (2) Much of the resource for the courses we developed in the adult education centres where we worked came from our own institutions and was supported by (or acquiesced to) by our managers.

By contrast, a substantial proportion of the work with women which we still believe to be important must now seek funding outside the core budgets of statutory providers, and is dependent on the cost-effectiveness criteria of national or international funding agencies. At the time of writing this, both of us are participants in a race for a diminishing number of available grants in order to maintain the principles and practices of emancipatory women's education. This leads to short-term and piecemeal planning, in a pattern which is returning both women's education and literacy in general once more to the margins of our institutions.

Feminists in adult education have been pointing out for some time that the growth in women's opportunities, both in employment and in education, have always been partial, piecemeal, and limited by the dominant ideology which for so long has rendered women invisible in both the academy and the higher reaches of employment. Not all of this was a conspiracy to exclude: the affliction of gender-blindness is an old one. As Mary Evans, in a discussion of the importance of theorizing women's studies put it:

> 'So many male academics simply didn't see women as part of the social world, rather than taking a conscious decision to exclude them from it'. (3)

Pat Usher, in her analysis of the 'Second Chance' courses developed for women by women educators working at Southampton University was clear, however, that:

> 'sexual discrimination and inequality of opportunity for women and girls are the most socially accepted forms of prejudice in modern society. Legislation has distracted attention away from the worst abuses and it takes a very close and careful analysis to reveal just how deeply the subordinate position of women is reflected and reinforced in the organisation of education'. (4)

'Second Chance', 'New Horizons','Fresh Start' and other titles were give to a host of courses which sprang up in the early 1980s in this country, started, as we have indicated, with explicit commitments to women's collective entitlement to determine their own curricula. After what now looks, with hindsight, like a brief interlude, the 1990's find us back with having to argue the case for the individual woman, on the basis of special 'needs', as opposed to structural inequality. As Reena Bhavnani, at a conference on women's education, has asserted:

> 'We have a government which is not interested in questions of equality, but in stressing the 'equality of access' to the enterprise culture...implications for women are clear. Being low paid and undervalued regarding our skills is not a structural issue - it is an individual one'. (5)

The political education of women's fresh start courses is no longer on the agenda. Instead, the prizes are given to training which delivers women to jobs, as fast as possible. The arguments which now justify what is known as 'pre-access' or 'pre-vocational' training are those of input-output models: long-term unemployed are put in, (improved) employment statistics are put out. In order successfully to compete for such funding, organisers now have to wade through a stack of dense guidelines, assemble labour market data and related residential profiles, and construct a convincing argument that the education offer they would provide would be an appropriate investment of national or transnational funding. (6) The paperwork is merciless.

Amidst this pressure, however, some gains do stand to be made. We have picked out four:

(a) The requirement to argue the case for grant aid on the basis of detailed indicators of economic and social need implies equally detailed gathering of intelligence. The research necessary to demonstrate the demands of the local labour market and skills shortages generates material which can be of use in the eventual course which is funded - both in terms of accurate job-hunting for the women students and in the sense of providing data in which to locate their own experience;

(b) The objectives expressed in funding applications, made accessible to the students, make explicit more specific purposes than the earlier promises of increased confidence;

(c) Earlier courses enabled women to feel an important sense of group cohesion; they had a folder of work to show, at its end. Now, consideration of accreditation and certification offers them the chance of validation beyond the centre or institution, which has (in theory, if not always yet in fact) some currency in the world at large.

(d) Finally, the obligation to account for the outcomes of a course can bring with it greater certainty of evaluation by course organisers, which in turn suggests an improved quality of experience for the course participants. Managers and teachers now, for better or worse, are being required to be more accountable for both the success and the shortcomings of women's courses. At worst, the statistical and/or financial measures may lead to closure of courses and unemployed lecturers. At best, this rendering of accounts means achieving evaluation of the content, curriculum, teaching strategies and providing the basis for planning improved sequels to the courses. (In our experience, the next year's budget for literacy and 'return to learning' courses was not, in the past, made conditional on the requirement to explain in advance the mechanisms for monitoring their educational effectiveness).

However, these gains are at a price. Managers who acquire the vocabulary which achieves the funding feel ourselves at risk of losing the language with which we once asserted women's rights to learn as whole people, with whole lives unfragmented into segments of waged and unwaged moments. (7) Women seeking opportunities for employment and study once again have to consent to their knowledge and experience being dismantled into separate pieces - a process encouraged by what John Field has called the 'parcellisation' of the competency movement. (8) Most of all, the climate in which women-only courses were beginning to be seen as a necessary part of any adult education offer worthy of the name, is once again disappearing.

Women's entitlement to their own space, free of the demands and agendas of men, has always been difficult for men to accept, let alone finance. Our assessment is that this difficulty has now increased at the very moment when the growth, from the seeds in literacy and return to learning opportunities sown by women ten years ago is just becoming visible above ground. Short-term 'outputs' are the measure of success; the longer-term personal and collective change that women achieve as a result of creating their own agendas for learning and training are left out of the data used for auditing costs and expenditure. What remains is that which has for long been the subterfuge of women's education: disguising the liberatory curriculum in the language of economics and accountancy.

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The privatisation of a public service: implications for educational television of deregulation in British broadcasting

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Abstract: This paper outlines recent changes in the British system of broadcasting, and the implications of these changes for adult education.

Abstrait: Ce discours décrit des changements récents à la structure de la télévision britannique, et leurs implications pour l'éducation des adultes.

Introduction: my life on the margins of adult education and broadcasting

I have spent most of the last two decades teaching about and researching into the relationship between adult education and the mass media. A major part of my present job in the University of Manchester involves the co-ordination of a postgraduate programme in media studies, and amongst my students are educators from all over the world who have heard about the pioneering work of the British Open University and who are avid listeners to the BBC World Service. They assume that in choosing to study in Britain they have come to the right place to learn about the educational uses of mass media. Several of my current students expressed shock on learning of recent changes in British broadcasting policy. These changes could threaten the basis of public service broadcasting, and pose a major challenge to those who want to exploit the educational potential of broadcast media.

My intention in this paper is to outline the changes in British broadcasting which have taken place in recent years, and to draw out some of the implications of these developments for those involved in the education of adults. Although the recent changes have affected radio services, in this highly compressed history I shall concentrate on television, where to date the effects have been more profound. I am still a firm believer in the potential for having a major impact on members of the adult population via broadcast channels. However, one of the things which needs to happen if this potential is to be tapped is for educators and broadcasters to talk more to one another, to understand each others' perspectives and problems, and to work towards more productive collaborative relationships.

Much of my understanding of the detail of British broadcasting policy has grown out of my work as Director of the University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium. This annual event, now in its 23rd year, provides one of the very few opportunities in the UK for academics and broadcasting programme- and policy-makers to meet together on a sustained basis to discuss issues of public service broadcasting policy. While such issues arise in the context of the annual Edinburgh International Television Festival, which is the main forum for discussion amongst employees of the television industry, or in seminars organised for teachers by such bodies as the British Film Institute (see Lusted and Drummond, 1985), in general there are few opportunities for dialogue between broadcasters and media educators.

A very short account of how British broadcasting works and how it contributes to the education of adults

The British system of broadcasting confuses many people from outside the country (not to say many Britons). According to Wenham (1982), the 1980s have seen the arrival of the Third Age of British broadcasting. The first was the age of radio, and the second, which began with the

Coronation of the present Queen in 1953 and the consequent sharp rise in the number of domestic television sets, Wenham dubs the Golden Age of Rationed Television. The Third Age, according to Wenham, is characterised by an expansion of the means of distribution which enables "an explosion of television programming beyond the wildest dreams of early pioneers" (Wenham, 1982, p. 13). Our choice of channels is still very restricted in comparison to the range available in North America, and transatlantic colleagues may wonder what the fuss is about.

There are currently four terrestrial television channels, two of which are controlled by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and two of which, Independent Television (ITV) and Channel Four, offer a "commercial" service. The BBC is not, as my overseas students often suppose, a state-controlled organisation, although it is presently financed through a licence fee which is paid by every television-set owning household, and it is dependent on Parliament for the regular renewal of its Royal Charter and Licence. It is also true that the BBC's mission to provide a national service is regularly debated, and its news reporting (for example, during the 1991 Gulf War) often comes under attack from those who argue that it should represent "the national interest" (or rather, the line of the government of the day) more robustly.

In the past, governments have directed broadcasting policy so that although there has been a degree of competition between the national television services for audiences, there has not been competition between them for sources of revenue; this has meant there has never been a direct relationship in British broadcasting between the level of ratings achieved (and hence the number of viewers delivered to advertisers) and the income received by a broadcaster. The BBC's two national channels have always been funded by a licence fee paid by every television set-owning household; the ITV network was funded by spot advertising; and Channel Four, introduced within the last ten years, has been financed by a levy on the profits of the companies in the ITV network. The commercial services have always been rigorously regulated by an autonomous State body, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA).

Both the BBC and the commercial services have always provided an educational service in the form of schools programmes, and there is also a range of broadcast material aimed at students in further education and adult education. The BBC has also worked in partnership with the Open University since its inception, to provide programmes to support the study of OU students involved on distance learning courses. A full account of the use of broadcasting in formal and non-formal adult education is provided by Bates (1985).

However, my focus here is less on television programmes formally designated as educational and more on the general output of broadcasting, which can be argued to make a much more significant contribution to shaping the minds and hearts of the adult population than does the material produced by the education departments of the broadcasting organisations. In an account of the part played by the BBC in the education of adults over a sixty-year period, Robinson (1982) emphasises the importance of recognising the cultural and educative contribution made through the general programme schedules, and study guides for Open University students lay stress on the potential for students to learn from news and current affairs programmes, documentaries and features, community access programmes, films and drama productions, as well as from formally defined educational material (Open University/BBC, 1981, pp.83-4).

According to the Central Statistical Office, television watching is the single most popular home-based leisure activity in Britain; in 1990, the average adult viewed for 23 hours and 51 minutes per week. There are marked class differences in viewing patterns, with those in the higher social classes (ABC1s) viewing two-thirds the number of hours watched by those in the DE category. (Central Statistical Office, 1992). These figures demonstrate the centrality of television output in the lives of the adult population, and suggest its importance in imparting information and shaping values.

Changes in the structure and organisation of television

Recent government policy has been to make radical changes in the organisation and underlying structure of British broadcasting. The Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher (prime minister from 1979 to 1990) took the view that the public services, including broadcasting, were better regulated by a reactive market place than by a prescriptive government. In a series of profound changes to British social provision, it applied this view to nationalised industries, to education, to the health services and to broadcasting. In the case of broadcasting, the most important objective, for the government, was to introduce direct competition between broadcasters for revenue, so that choices between differing programme services expressed by viewers themselves through the use of their tuning buttons would have an impact on the broadcasters' income and hence their programme production and scheduling choices.

The Thatcher government passed the Broadcasting Act of 1991, which was intended to open up the tightly regulated British television and radio industries to commercial competition and the forces of the market place. The monopolies previously enjoyed by the BBC and the ITV companies have been broken; the highly-regarded Channel Four service is being spun off into a commercial undertaking, selling advertising time in competition against the ITV companies; and the power and discretion of the socially interventionist IBA has been substantially reduced in its successor body, the Independent Television Commission. The former IBA was sometimes been compared to the US Federal Communications Commission or the Canadian Radio and Television Commission, but the comparison is inexact: the IBA had much greater power of intervention in programme matters than either body. To North American observers, its powers of prior restraint sometimes seemed anathema - it had the right to approve or alter programme schedules and, at its own discretion, to require changes in the content of individual programmes. But these powers enabled it to encourage (and, where necessary, force) the ITV companies to mount a diverse programme schedule, which included a substantial amount of formal adult and continuing education programming, some of it in peak viewing hours, even though such programming generally achieved low ratings and was unprofitable. Under the new regime, no such regulatory power exists, so in circumstances of greater commercial competition it is likely that adult and continuing education programming will either be eliminated completely or heavily marginalised.

Moreover, the effect of the monopoly was in general to encourage a standard and range of programming throughout the BBC, ITV and Channel Four schedules. It is no coincidence that British television broadcasters have tended to provide the bulk of the popular programming transmitted on the US Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), which is largely made up of broadcasting with explicit or implicit educational missions. PBS has benefited from drama programmes based on classic literature like Evelyn Waugh's *Scoop*, *Brideshead Revisited* and the *BBC Shakespeare*, on factual programmes like *Nova* (in Britain, *Horizon*) and *Life on Earth* and on comedy like *Monty Python's Flying Circus*.

Other important changes were instituted under the 1991 Broadcasting Act. Advertising- and subscription-supported satellite television operations were legitimised, and the completely unregulated services thus provided (such as Rupert Murdoch's Sky TV and the recently-started Adult Channel) pose a significant threat to terrestrial broadcasters' revenue. ITV and Channel Four were separated, each being ordered to sell its own advertising airtime on a competitive basis. At the same time, the new ITC was given far narrower regulatory powers by the Broadcasting Act than those enjoyed by the old IBA. It is forbidden to approve, or even to see, programmes or schedules in advance; its powers are limited to *post-hoc* monitoring of the companies' programming to see that they keep to the general standards they promised in their written licence applications; and its sanctions are limited to the brutal ones of public warnings or licence cancellations, which it is unlikely to exercise in the case of minor infractions. Its "quality-control" functions have largely been turned over to a new body called the Broadcasting Standards Council (BSC), which is only allowed to take action once it has received complaints from viewers, thus implying that consumerism has taken over from public service in British broadcasting. Baroness Warnock, former member of the IBA, speaking at the 21st University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium, described the change succinctly: "The new style of regulation in the world of broadcasting seems not to have much to do with the old trio of information, education and entertainment. It has become instead a matter of *protection* of the viewer or listener as consumer." (Miller *et al*, 1990, p.9).

The most extraordinary measure of all introduced by the Thatcher government in its 1991 legislation, however, was a radical change in the system of awarding broadcasting licences to the ITV companies. This new method, widely extolled by free-market enthusiasts but never effectively introduced anywhere but in Mrs Thatcher's Britain, was that of auctioning the available spectrum space. In previous licence awards, applicants were judged purely on the likelihood that they would provide a public service of high quality: the candidate with the highest quality programme plans (within the bounds of financial reality) won the licence. In 1991, it was simply a matter of cash. Applicants for the ITV transmission licences had to bid a fixed sum, to be paid annually for ten years, for the right to transmit programmes and to sell advertising time in each area. The Independent Television Commission had to satisfy itself that bidders would provide a decent service, and was able to eliminate some of the more meretricious applications, but once that was over the highest bidder had, by law, to win. The main effect, of course, has been to divert cash — industry estimates put it at a minimum of £350 million a year — from programme-making to the payment of these cash sums to the Treasury. The overt objective was to introduce greater "efficiency" into what was seen as an inefficient, over-spending, highly-unionised industry; the fact is that the post-1987 recession had already squeezed most of the fat out of the industry, and the only area left for financial cuts was that of programmie production budgets, and it is the programme content that will suffer.

How broadcasters are reacting to the new régime

Some of the regulatory changes will only become effective at the end of 1992. Others, including the introduction of commercial satellite broadcasting and the new licence system, are already in place. But the effect they will have on the quality and content of British television is inevitable and far-reaching. Broadcasters, forced to deliver high audiences to advertisers in order to maintain revenue, are likely to have to rely more and more on material designed to appeal to the lowest common denominator, and/or on acquired (mainly North American) entertainment programmes. As long ago as 1983, John Birt, then director of programmes of an ITV company and now director-general-designate of the BBC, said in a speech at the Edinburgh International Television Festival "The new area of competition is likely to mean that the scope for scheduling programmes of minority appeal during peak time will be limited. Indeed, soon there may be no case for it at all." This move away from public service principles is bound to change the kind of information and values disseminated by British television; Bates (1984), commenting on Birt's speech, concluded, "Public service no longer appears to be fashionable ... I had the feeling that the only reason why some broadcast organisations do anything in the area of education and social action programming is to prevent other agencies from gaining access to broadcasting frequencies" (p. 243).

How educators could react to the new broadcasting environment

British educators, like many of their colleagues around the world, have themselves been affected by shifts in the organisational climate of their institutions which parallel many of those experienced in the British broadcasting industry. Issues of consumerism, exemplified by an emphasis on quality assurance, market principles and consumer protection, are starting to dominate the discourse about education. The "kitemark", an imprimatur issued by the British Standards Institution to denote, for instance, that an electric iron is unlikely to electrocute its user, is now being applied to educational courses to show that they match up to an objective "standard". It is not surprising that if this is happening in the public sector educators are no longer able to rely on the broadcasters to provide much formal education or, indeed, mainstream programming likely to impart educationally beneficial knowledge or values.

There are several possible reactions to the new climate and structure of British broadcasting. One is to accept that the old notion of "education by stealth" through broadcasting has been all but squeezed out of the range of possibilities, and that the old Reithian mission to bring culture to the masses is over. Anthony Smith, a former broadcaster who has now retired to the groves of academe as President of Magdalen College, Oxford, exemplified this view when he told participants at the 22nd University of Manchester Broadcasting Symposium, "the more perfectly deregulation is imposed upon broadcasting, the more we lose of what viewers and legislators actually value — and that is the production of programmes which encompass a wide range of society's needs and interests" (Miller and Allen, 1991, p.9). In this case, the only course is to wait for a change of government, and therefore policy — which may of course have happened by the time this paper appears in print.

Another reaction is to seek out opportunities presented by the changing environment. Perhaps educators should worry less about broadcast channels and concentrate more on the use of other audio-visual outlets. The video cassette recorder is now a commonplace item in British households. During the 1980s, ownership of VCR machines grew rapidly; by 1990, 14.8 million households (out of approximately 21 million) had at least one. 374 million video tapes were rented in that year, and no less than 38 million pre-recorded tapes were purchased (Central Statistical Office, 1992, pp.178-9). Even in the recession, these figures have continued to grow. In recent years, the Open University has moved away from broadcast television and radio and has made increasing use of video and audio cassette material in its courses. Several colleagues at the Open University suggested to me that the use of video material gave them considerably greater flexibility since their material no longer needed to compete for attention on the airwaves with conventional programming. Furthermore, the shift to video cassette distribution has helped to resolve some of the problems described by Bates in his critique of Open University methods when he says, "Producers have a different approach to (*sic*) teachers. Educators see viewers and listeners as students for whom a broadcast is only one, relatively minor event in a much broader learning context; for a producer, the programme is the centre of attention" (Bates, 1984, p.234). When video cassettes are used as an integral part of the course materials, it is not necessary to present the televisual element as a complete programme, or to take account of the significant "eavesdropping" audience which demands traditional programme formats.

Another reaction might be to learn from the experience of the marketplace and to employ techniques from programmes which attract huge audiences in order to achieve adult education objectives. The BBC's major contribution to Adult Learners' Week in March 1992 consisted of a series of two- or three-minute broadcasts featuring scenes and performers from chart-topping soaps and sitcoms carrying messages about the value of returning to learning. Perhaps educators should stop carping about the growing number of game shows on our screens and put the energy into hijacking popular formats for educational ends.

The British adult education community should also take notice of the experience of other countries, especially those where deregulation has a longer history. I hope in the course of the CASAE conference to learn about Canadian educators' approaches to the problems of market-driven broadcasting.

In conclusion, I would argue that, whatever the future direction of broadcasting policy in Britain, media education has an increasingly important role to play. If the worst fears of public service broadcasting enthusiasts are realised, and programme output becomes largely bland and homogeneous, resembling "nothing more than a continuous variety show" (Bates, 1984, p.243), educators can at least provide learners with the means to understand and analyse the cultural forms offered through television. If what is on offer is "wall-to-wall Dallas", then it is even more essential that viewers are empowered to decode the conventions and sub-texts of soap opera. A growth in interest in media education in recent years is evidenced by the publication of a range of texts on the teaching of media studies (see, for example, Masterman, 1985; Alvarado et al., 1987; Lusted, 1991). However, in British higher education the study of media structures, processes and texts is still in its infancy. Its growth and development will, I believe, be aided by more effective communication between educators and broadcasters and the sharing of insights and strategies.

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ADULT EDUCATION: THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO THE CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGE

Within the confines of a brief paper it is not possible to explore fully the range of issues raised in a review of key shifts in the debate concerning education and social policy in the U.K. Thus, this paper will be limited to a consideration of the response of those generally considered "radical" thinkers, cultural workers and educators to what have been described as "New Times" (Hall and Jacques, 1989). The basis of discussion in this paper centres on the nature and depth of any such change.

The eighties have become known to many for the dominance of Margaret Thatcher within British politics and the particular mixture of liberal economics and ideological zeal associated with her name. Whether "Thatcherism" was (and still is) a conscious "hegemonic project" (Hall and Jacques, 1983) or indeed whether advanced capitalism needs any great ideological legitimation (Hill) is still being debated. Nevertheless, the impact on policy has been great. The dominance of the market has been incorporated into public sector provision as the state has been, rhetorically at least, "rolled back". State providers of social services from health to education have been put into competition for limited resources. Cities "bid" against each other for centrally-held resources to help tackle the problems of inner urban decay. The two central pillars of the market - price and quality - have moved into new areas. Universities and schools find themselves involved in the marketing of their "product" to "consumers", and seeking total quality via industrial/commercial management methods which frequently seek to use empirically verifiable "outcomes" based on performance indicators. One final point is to note the tendency to standardise the educational offerings. This can be readily seen in basic vocational education, but is becoming apparent in higher education as modularisation, in the name of access and credit transfer, moves in the same direction. Once the product becomes standardised then the only variable in our model is price - the best educational centres are the most efficient - the cheapest.

It is commonplace among radicals to draw the connection between recent changes in education and fundamental changes in the realm of production. At one level, crude human capital theory is used to legitimate changes and urge the labour force to become more flexible and more willing to submit to constantly altering work practices. Discourses drawing on theories of post-industrialisation and the claim that future economic prosperity will be vitally linked to the knowledge base of society are standard planks of political party policy, so recently reflected in the Australian premier's call for the "smart society". At a more analytical level, there is a claim that we are moving beyond "Fordism" into the "Post-Fordist" period of production. The old regime of large-scale factories, staffed by "skilled" white male labour mass-producing standardised products for a mass market, has now been surpassed. The future now lies with highly technologised units capable of "short run" batch production targeted at highly defined niche markets and capable of almost "customized" style variation. The reaction to these changes has been highly ambiguous on the part of those committed to social liberation.

On the one hand, the changes in the economic base are seen as potentially liberatory. For example, changes have enabled women to enter the labour force in greater numbers; the trades unions can no longer retain their patriarchal dominance of the workplace - although they will try! The appearance of crèches at workplaces and the use of electronic technology to enable women to work from home are cited as significant advances. Further, the explosion of commodities that flows from post-Fordist production enables life-styles to be constructed by the consumer, and allows for the celebration of multiple aspects of identity. It is here where style, identity and consumption collide.

On the other hand, even as the new forms of production are noted and analysed for their positive aspects, the same writers are noting that a new labour segmentation is taking place that is not in the interests of all. There is a danger of the emergence of what has been called a "two-thirds, one-third society" in which two thirds of the population are directly active in the labour force - one third in relatively secure, well-paid jobs and one third in a more casualised relationship to the economy. It is claimed that the remaining one third of the population are being constituted as an underclass, essentially excluded from the legitimate labour market as a result of what has been described as the "Brazilianisation" of society (Therborn). Similarly, in the analysis of access to work, there have been accusations that writers have tended to concentrate only on the "best practice" examples while ignoring the reality of the majority. For example, the emphasis on "progressive" practices by British Banks to keep open jobs for women who decide to take out extended time to raise a family, is contrasted with the fact that many women returning to the labour market do so to part-time, casualised and low-paid work (Thrift).

At an even more fundamental level is the relationship of recent theories of post-modernism to current thinking. There is no intention to discuss the complex ramifications of the debate here, but to concentrate on features of post-modern thought that appear to influence contemporary educators and radical cultural workers. Firstly, it should be said that responses to post-modernism have been very varied - ranging from carefully argued Marxist rebuttal (Callinicos, Jameson, Harvey) through to criticism of its adherents verging on personal abuse (Sivanandan). For the purposes of this essay we wish to explore why certain post-modern assumptions have been so eagerly taken up.

Perhaps the central point is the claim that a crucial break has taken place in history. For Fukuyama we are at the "end" of history. Essentially, for many post-modernists we have reached the end of the Enlightenment project; the faith in rationality is shattered and thus the grand narratives based on reason that gave direction to the world and all in it, lose their validity in much the same way that reason superceded the superstition of religion in the earlier revolution of thought.

Of equal importance is the claim that not only were the old beliefs theoretically incorrect, they also led to oppression. This accusation was levelled particularly at Marxism, with writers linking Marx with the state socialism of the USSR and its repressive features (see Lyotard). Thus the changes in Eastern Europe and the "liberation" of communities can be read as a symbol of post-modernity, as can such diverse phenomena as the rush by European communist parties to change their names to more acceptable alternatives, and the demise of the British journal Marxism Today, which in its last edition contained an article subtitled, "Why Marxism is outdated" (January 1992).

Other strands of post-modernism also appeal to elements already current in cultural/educational thought. For example, the stress on the freedom to "construct" the self, and the freedom from highly normative models of personality resonates with concepts of personal empowerment that have been commonplace in feminist work for a long time, and which have become influential in academic circles via the work of Foucault. Additionally, the overall power of post-modernist analysis to undermine current forms of legitimation has an instant appeal to oppressed groups and radical thinkers alike.

It needs to be noted that in many cases even those who appear to subscribe to post-modernist positions recognise certain deeply negative features. Laclau, in his essay on the end of Marxism, notes that release from modernist forms of both intellectual and physical domination is no guarantee of progressive development:

> ".....the assertion of particularism..... is showing us a spectacle which is far from appetising: ethnic confrontation between communities, xenophobia, anti-semitism, and the resurgence of all kinds of traditional and obscurantist identifications." (p.57)

We shall return to the "progressive" later.

Others appear to want to take the liberatory elements and leave behind less palatable features. For example, Willis - long-respected as a radical cultural analyst, celebrates post-modernism's potential for liberation, but rejects outright the deeply pessimistic elements flowing from Nietzchean sources, (Willis pp. 26-27).

What of the future in these changed conditions? The most insistent response has come from the writers linked to Marxism Today who, in 1988, published their manifesto for "New Times" and whose views have generated responses from writers on adult education (see, for example, the different reactions of Westwood, Allman and Wallis). Perhaps the most important issue for adult educators is the fact that they draw so heavily on Gramsci. If the old order is shattered and the old "readings" of the world are invalid, then new alliances between people must be forged - a new counter hegemonic bloc must be created. However, this time the ideology cementing the bloc will not be Marxist orthodoxy but a belief in a celebratory pluralism. The task is to locate the "progressive" in the new social order and to try to build alliances around such features. It is argued that the key to the strategy is to be found in Gramsci's essay on "Fordism and Americanism" (Gramsci, 1971). We wish to conclude the essay by questioning whether the understanding of Gramsci is tenable and whether the proposed tactics are leading radical educators up a blind alley.

The progressive forces for a future will be defined against the failure of the post-war British social consensus, in the same way that Thatcherism has offered a "regressive radicalism" (Hall, 1983). The important distinction is that these elements will somehow emerge from these changed times; they will be "in the grain" of the times. They will arise from the changed historical condition and cannot be encapsulated in abstract party policies: They are moods, currents and forces in society (Jacques et al p.8). Elements such as green issues, a new international settlement, a search for new social cohesion and a new basis for work are cited as some areas where "progressive" potential can be located. If these elements can come together, then the potential for a counter-hegemony might be achieved. The exact nature of the mechanism of alliance is left vague:

> ".... the common vision of progress we have outlined needs to be given shape and colour, by the parties, movements and groups in progressive politics." (Ibid p.17).

How this will happen, and on what basis, is less considered, which takes us back to Gramsci. In his considerations of

Fordism Gramsci sees the "epochal" nature of Taylorism and mass production, but never loses sight of the fact that its "progressive" elements could only be attained within socialist relations. The impact of the changes in the industrial base were significant but only constituted "new times" in the sense that a new regime of capital accumulation was ushered in. If there was any revolution it was "passive" in the Gramscian sense - the social order changed to accommodate the changes in the capitalist economic base. In fairness to the New Times authors they concede that their aspirations do not stretch to the overthrow of capital, or to the introduction of socialism, only to a "more sustainable, democratic path of development," but this comparison clearly distinguishes the limitations of radicalism in their cultural politics.

Secondly, for Gramsci the aim of revolutionary method/educational struggle was always predicated on the aim of struggling towards communist revolution, even under a brutal Fascist régime. Also, much current thought leaves no role for the co-ordinating mechanism of the political leadership, whether it be the "Party", (the "Modern Prince"), or the organic intellectual. How then are these emerging groups to come together and how will they sustain any unity? Gramsci was unambiguous on this point. Any alliance could only be entered into if it shared - in the short or long term - the interests of the proletariat, which was seen as the only class capable of leading the revolution. Any alliances not serving those purposes, bound by only a particular and secondary element of ideological commitment, provided only the unity of "potatoes in a sack" (Gramsci 1977). One has only to look at how he struggled against the crude "united front", aimed at thwarting the Fascists, to see his strength of feeling.

The analysis of New Times is perhaps all that can arise once the grand narratives are abandoned and a confidence in the possibility of truth is lost. But what is not really explained is how these new concerns arise, how they come into the consciousness of their adherents. If we go back to Marx's theory of consciousness we might care to argue that such thinking as New Times is symptomatic of the "logic of late capitalism" (Jameson) emerging from the new global capitalist relations.

The issues for adult education are many and varied. Previous forms of radical education are largely disallowed within analyses where traditional concepts are abandoned. However, if we stay with Gramsci and adopt the challenge of enabling adults to develop a capacity for critical thought, we may be able to reconnect our work with previous traditions, which must themselves be subjected to critical analysis. This requires choices of both an educational and ontological kind, and requires above all a detailed analysis of whether current assumptions are operating ideologically in the negative sense (see Larrain) to conceal these historically specific reformations of the principal contradictions of capitalism.

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